

EXCHANGE



Saint Ralph and the Dragon

Los Angeles; New York City

■ Forgive us, Katha Pollitt, for we have sinned ["Subject to Debate," March 20]. Having made some initial ideological errors, we continued to be led by impure thoughts into a life of blasphemy until your most recent column brought us back into the light! It all began in 1996 when we were among those foolish 700,000 people who wasted our vote on Ralph Nader's now infamous un-campaign (see Cooper and Sifry, "The Case for Nader," Oct. 14, 1996). Fortunately, you and *The Nation's* careful editors and fact-checkers set us straight about what "really" happened then. We thought we heard Nader praise the Green Party platform to the high heavens, comparing it often with a Democratic Party platform that he noted didn't even mention universal healthcare, but your zealous reporting told us instead that he "claim[ed] he hadn't read his party's platform." If you say so, it must be the gospel truth.

We thought he had one running mate on Election Day, the noted Native American activist Winona LaDuke (plus one VP stand-in who failed to get off the New York ballot), but you discovered "five or six." We thought the FEC required that he file a personal financial disclosure statement only if he spent more than \$5,000 on his campaign, but legal eagle Katha told us "he'd have to make his tax records, and the records of his various organizations, available" too. Preach on, preach on!

Silly us, we read a *Nation* article back then by candidate Nader ["The Greens and the Presidency," July 8, 1996] denouncing the two parties' collusion on issues like labor rights, the military budget, healthcare, the erosion of civil liberties, media concentration and welfare reform, but Katha knew better, writing that his campaign "resolutely avoided mention" of such "longtime progressive concerns." You tell it, sister.

Somehow, we were deceived by Nader's longtime efforts in the arena of civic education into thinking that he has a deep concern for the quality of schools; his embrace of the citizens' movements of the sixties we took as evidence of his support of feminism and gay rights; his high-profile attack on Bill Gates's wealth and huge CEO compensation we took as, well, you know.

And yet, before Katha's admonition put us back on the shining path, there we were, four years later, sliding down that same slippery slope—tempted to blow one more sacred vote on crazy Ralph, ignoring the broad anticorporate reform agenda of Al Gore. Alas, there we were, like bedazzled fools, feeling some sneaking sympathy for John McCain as he took a campaign reform message—born on the left—

and popularized it among millions of Republicans and other everyday nonprogressives.

But worst of all, we must now confess to having been lured into collaboration this past year with that Harlot Huffington. Straying from the Word as revealed by Katha, we had so lost our moral compass that we rejoiced in watching a former conservative ideologue use her wealth and celebrity to support groups and causes on the progressive side: working with ACT UP to criticize Gore's position on AIDS drugs in South Africa, with Public Campaign to push campaign finance reform, with Nader's Oaks Project to enhance citizen empowerment, with *Sojourners* in the fight to close the wealth gap, with Randall Robinson on domestic reparations, with activists opposing the draconian California Juvenile Justice Initiative and even with those devils fighting to reverse the inequities in mandatory-minimum drug sentencing. We could go on, but the pain of admitting our deviations is becoming too great to bear. Bless you, Katha Pollitt, for intervening to save us. MARC COOPER, MICAH L. SIFRY

Santa Fe

■ While Katha Pollitt invites *Nation* readers to lie down in a hearse with her, New Mexicans who enjoy doing politics more than talking about it were welcoming Ralph Nader on the first swing of his 2000 campaign for President. In his first major campaign event, here on March 4, Nader raised money for Green candidates, recruited volunteers from among new and disaffected voters, talked about his *sole* running mate, Winona LaDuke, focused on urban decay, poverty, disparity of incomes, healthcare and other Pollitt litmus-test issues. More important, Nader inspired his listeners to try to take power back from the two crumbling and corrupt parties. Katha might start her recovery by doing some research at votenader.com. ROB HAGER

Santa Fe

■ Katha Pollitt's fiction about Ralph Nader's 1996 Green Party campaign says that he hadn't even read the party platform. As platform chair, I can assure readers that not only did he state that he had "read every word" of it, he also said he was running *because* of the Green platform and the related Concord Principles he believes in so strongly. Here's part of Ralph's acceptance speech at the 1996 nominating convention:

"What commended the Green Party so much to those of us who were not in on the founding is that if you look very carefully at the Green Party platform...this is by far the most comprehensive, broad-based platform, that deals with a wide range of systemic justice that's needed in this country, from the political to the corporate,

to the cultural, the civil liberties, the civil rights, of any party in the country. I wouldn't begin to compare it with the flaccid, insipid, empty, cowardly platforms of the Democratic and Republican Tweedledum Tweedledee parties."

STEVEN SCHMIDT

Washington, D.C.

■ Yes, Ralph Nader ran an embarrassingly spare campaign in '96. But he's making a much greater effort this time, and we DC folks have already seen it pay off: At a fundraiser, Nader drew 250-plus supporters, helped raise more than \$3,000 for the DC Statehood Green Party and to publicize DC's wrongful status as a colony of a half-million US citizens with no voting representation in Congress. We've had some great results, like voter registrations, new volunteers and a renewed energy to make this one heck of an election year. JENNIFER THANGAVELU

Torrington, Conn.

■ Why all the focus on the 1996 campaign? It's 2000 and things will be different this time. Running a Green candidate for President will help build the party at the grassroots. The payoff is when we get local candidates elected. But it doesn't happen overnight. On her second attempt as a Green candidate for Hartford City Council, Elizabeth Sheff, black and female, won a seat, pushing out a very conservative Republican. She is focusing on urban, poverty and education issues. Her election has helped build rapport between urban minorities and the admittedly lily-white suburban Greens. Instead of belittling the Greens, I invite Katha Pollitt to take a bus, train, or hearse to Connecticut and help us fundraise. TOM ETHIER

Redwood City, Calif.

■ Katha Pollitt is right: Those of us working to elect Ralph Nader have much better ways to spend the next eight months. But instead, I waste my lunch hour talking to some of the 500 local community-college students who showed up for a Nader speech organized on a moment's notice, where he told them about universal healthcare and that their education shouldn't just be training for corporations but a training ground for democracy. And along about August, I'll really be wishing Ralph wasn't running—then I could skip the county fair. Instead I'll spend ten days talking to thousands of working-class men and women about declining real wages and why they can't make ends meet in one of the richest counties in America. And come November I'll be wasting my time helping the Green Party candidate for State Assembly defeat the Tweedledum Democrat and the Tweedledumber Republican. Out here in the political wilderness, we'll just have to go on blindly following Saint Ralph in

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EDITORIALS

Kosovo Revisited

On March 24, 1999, NATO began a massive bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in what was described as a "humanitarian intervention" to stop Belgrade's oppression of the Albanian Kosovars. We opposed the NATO bombing campaign at the time because the catastrophic effects of the air war on Serbia, including violations of international law and civilian casualties, subverted the Clinton Administration's declared humanitarian intentions. Furthermore, NATO chose to launch a war against a sovereign nation without seeking United Nations approval, thereby undermining the UN's authority. Against the backdrop of Russia's war in Chechnya, a flare-up of tensions between Taiwan and China, and President Clinton's peace-talking mission to South Asia, Kosovo emerges as a key test case of international efforts to deal with internal conflicts and human rights abuses. Richard Falk, who recently traveled to Kosovo with a thirteen-member delegation of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo, offers the following report.

—The Editors

During my recent visit to Kosovo two strong impressions emerged. The first is that the curse of Serbian oppression has been definitively lifted from the majority-Albanian population. The NATO campaign achieved the removal of Yugoslav military forces from Kosovo and, even more significant, the departure of the dreaded Serbian paramilitary units and police. This should be acknowledged by critics of the US/NATO war strategy, among whom I include myself. In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that even the Rambouillet ultimatum to Serbian President Milosevic, which was the abandonment of

diplomacy rather than a good-faith effort, would have left a Serbian military and police presence in Kosovo, keeping ethnic violence alive, from both the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and the Serbian sides. That is not a vindication of the NATO bombing campaign, but it is a tangible benefit to the Kosovars.

The unexpectedly rapid return of the Kosovar Albanians who had fled Serbian terrorism during the war, and their undisguised gratitude for the NATO intervention, further confirm such an interpretation. The Albanians themselves completed the job of securing Kosovo for the Albanians, regrettably committing their own crimes against humanity along the way, by driving most of the Serbs out of the province altogether and forcing the rest into a few heavily guarded enclaves. Thus, the Serbs have themselves become victims of ethnic cleansing, which although on a far smaller scale than the Albanians experienced, is well on its way to establishing an ethnically pure Kosovo. What remains are small Roma, Turkish and Bosniak minorities herded into a few villages in the south, dependent on KFOR (NATO troops) for protection. The most contested of the Serbian enclaves, and by far the most significant, is the divided city of Mitrovica in the north, near the Serbian border. That process of reverse ethnic cleansing was not effectively challenged by KFOR or by the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK); nor could it have been avoided, given the passions unleashed by the massive Serbian atrocities during the seventy-eight days of bombing that drove out almost half of Kosovo's 2 million people.

After decades of abuse, this de facto emergence of an Albanian Kosovo seems a reasonable outcome of the war, bringing relief to 90 percent of the Kosovar population, a result in accordance with the right of self-determination. The viability of this outcome depends, however, on whether a long-term international

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commitment to provide border security against the possibility of future Serbian aggression will be sustained.

There should be no illusions that an independent Kosovo will be a democratic entity that respects human rights. As matters now stand, it is likely to be directly or indirectly dominated by the KLA. Although its leaders have adopted the sort of rhetoric that wins the approval of the UN and the world media, its background, outlook and activities invite strong suspicions of widespread ties to a criminal underworld and political goals that embody the values of ethnic authoritarianism. Without a long-term UN border control linked to some partition arrangement neither ethnic community is likely to be safe for very long, given the vast reservoirs of unspent hatred on both sides.

As for NATO's bombing campaign, the diplomatic leverage it produced resulted from the punishment inflicted on Serbia proper, rather than on Serbian forces in Kosovo, especially to the civilian infrastructure, as the target list was gradually expanded when NATO expectations of a quick surrender by Milosevic were dashed. In Kosovo, the bombing was generally limited to lawful targets; even so, almost no damage was done to Yugoslavia's military capabilities. Belgrade either knew or anticipated the original NATO target list. Its forces vacated its bases and barracks in Kosovo, and it successfully hid its main military assets, fooling even the smartest technology in the history of warfare with dummy targets. So much for what was proclaimed as the first victory ever achieved by reliance on air power!

Of course, it is fair to ask, Why then did Milosevic strike a deal that resulted in the loss of Kosovo? There is no denying that the bombing was destroying Serbia's civilian infrastructure. There were incentives to strike a bargain, and it should be remembered that Milosevic was given several face-saving concessions, especially a diminished role for NATO, an enhanced role for the UN and no intrusion upon the territory of Yugoslavia except in Kosovo, thereby endorsing the Serbian view of its sovereign rights.

The second strong impression I took away from Kosovo is that the UN Security Council has assigned UNMIK a mission impossible: establishing a multi-ethnic Kosovo subject to the sovereignty of Yugoslavia. That is in accord with the agreement negotiated to end the war, which vested political authority in the UN while assigning the peacekeeping role to NATO. The price paid for securing the acquiescence of China and Russia in the Security Council was the reaffirmation of the status of Kosovo as part of Yugoslavia, as well as the assurance that the Serbs would be able to retain their ethnic presence in Kosovo. Neither of those goals was ever really attainable, and the lip service that still must be paid to them insures constant tension, recurrent violent incidents (some against UNMIK people), frustration with the restoration of normal life to Kosovo and in the long run a probable perception of UN failure. Such a result would be tragic, considering the dedication and ability of the excellent UNMIK team, led with conviction and compassion by Bernard Kouchner, founder of Doctors Without Borders.

The reputation of the UN was severely damaged by its earlier mission impossible in Bosnia. There it had been assigned a role of impartial peacekeeping amid a gathering storm of genocidal

EDITORIALS

practices, culminating in the 1995 massacre of some 7,000 Muslim men and boys in the UN "safe haven" of Srebrenica. A second mission impossible in Kosovo will further weaken the UN role in the kind of internal conflict in which its presence will be most needed. The failure of the European countries to follow through on their pledges of funds and police does not enhance UNMIK's prospects in Kosovo. The shortage of funds has also delayed the UN establishment of a massive public works program to rebuild the country, attract investment and reduce the level of unemployment from its current figure of more than 85 percent.

Serious as these shortages of resources are, it is the Procrustean UN mandate, which can neither accommodate the complexities of the situation nor realize the goals of humanitarian diplomacy, that remains the fundamental problem a year after the NATO bombs and missiles fell. In effect the UN is being prevented from achieving success in Kosovo despite the heroic efforts of those risking their lives in service there. At this point, an overwhelming majority of Kosovars are committed to full independence as a sacred cause. To deny this aspiration is to insure a return to violence in Kosovo. To slow it down by holding municipal elections in a few months and general elections sometime later, as the UN now plans, is a gamble—playing for time in the hope that some sort of compromise will become feasible.

Such a plan amounts to an electoral charade designed to defer Kosovo's destiny to become a state, no longer a province of Yugoslavia, however autonomous. Autonomy might have been a solution in 1995, when Milosevic's cooperation in ending the war in Bosnia was "purchased" by Washington at the price of keeping Kosovo off the table at Dayton and giving Belgrade a free hand there. It is important to note that the surge of armed resistance by the KLA followed directly upon this diplomatic signal, abruptly ending the popular appeal of the brave movement of nonviolent resistance to Serbian domination led by Ibrahim Rugova.

The postconflict international response in Kosovo is also weakened by the application of a punitive policy toward Belgrade. It's scandalous once more to make a captive civilian population pay for the crimes of its repressive leader, as in Iraq. Such a policy has strengthened Milosevic's hold on power, as well as his nothing-to-lose intransigence. Any likely successor to Milosevic would almost certainly adhere to nationalist claims that Kosovo is a part of Yugoslavia, and thus the hope of a change in Belgrade leadership seems one more Washington pipe dream. Milosevic, an opportunist to his marrow, might have chosen stability by accepting the partial loss of Kosovo if Serbia had been allowed to resume some measure of normal life. Without incentives, his natural temptation is to provoke turmoil throughout the South Balkans with the hope of testing the political will of the United States and its European allies. There are already demands in Congress and the media for a KFOR exit before the next cycle of violence starts.

To this mixed assessment of the NATO/UN efforts in Kosovo must be added a consideration of the international impact of the military campaign. The international response to the Russian devastation of Chechnya was definitely muted by NATO war-making in Kosovo. It was notable that acting President Putin and Foreign Minister Ivanov both wrote Op-Ed columns in Western newspapers rejecting criticism of Russia's Chechnya policies by

direct reference to Kosovo. But the opposite effect should also be noted. Undoubtedly, the United States in particular exerted pressure on Jakarta to give up East Timor partly to head off a rising tide of criticism at home and abroad that, given US intervention in Kosovo, it only selectively defends human rights. Apparently China increased its nuclear weapons program in response to the bombing of its Belgrade embassy during the war and as a reaction to US-led NATO unilateralism. It is also reliably reported that India's leaders became more convinced that their security was dependent over time on further developing their nuclear weapons capability. More speculatively, it is possible that the KLA strategy of drawing an international response by provoking the Serbs to crack down on their insurrectionary violence set a model in the period 1995–98 for other discontented ethnic groups to use violence to achieve their goals.

A year after the bombing one can reach a few tentative conclusions: The Albanian Kosovars have been provisionally liberated; Kosovo and the region remain a tinderbox; the UN, because of the lack of consensus among its principal members, is likely to emerge further weakened; heightened suspicions are likely to greet any future proposed humanitarian intervention that does not have the benefit of UN authorization; neither resources nor political imagination has been devoted to taking some obvious steps to prevent future Kosovos, such as establishing a volunteer UN peacekeeping force, creating an independent genocide watch and moving ahead vigorously with the establishment of an international criminal court. In sum, in light of Kosovo, the authority of the UN is more important than ever, while its reputation and capabilities for effective action are likely to continue to decline—not a happy combination of circumstances on the first anniversary of the first NATO war.

RICHARD FALK

Richard Falk is a member of The Nation's editorial board.

NATION NOTES

Jonathan Schell is joining the magazine to head up our department of peace and disarmament. Since 1998 Schell has commented in these pages on the nuclear question, most notably in his magazine-length article "The Gift of Time" (February 2/9, 1998). A former staff writer for *The New Yorker* and columnist for *Newsday*, he is the Harold Willens Peace Fellow at The Nation Institute. He teaches at Wesleyan University and The New School. Among his books are *The Fate of the Earth*, *The Real War* and *The Gift of Time*.

Congratulations to art critic Arthur C. Danto, whose prose portraits of the Brooklyn Museum of Art's "Sensation" show (November 1, 1999) and the art scene at Bellagio, "Degas in Vegas" (March 1, 1999), have been nominated for a National Magazine Award in reviews and criticism by the American Society of Magazine Editors. The awards will be announced on May 3.

EDITORIALS

LAPD: Law and Disorder

Can you top this? seems to be the theme of the escalating police scandal in Los Angeles. What started as a story of corrupt cops now involves the Police Chief and District Attorney calling each other a liar, the Mayor calling them children, federal investigators learning that federal agencies are involved in collusion and mounting calls for an independent prosecutor, with no one knowing how to insure independence in a scandal that seems to touch everyone. What's new is the realization that a decade of bipartisan law-and-order politics has created a new malignancy of police abuse from Los Angeles to New York. Police have used paramilitary tactics against an entire class of inner-city youth under the banner of a war on gangs and drugs. In their overkill against the underclass many cops have become gangsters and drug dealers themselves. It is time for a moral and political assessment of this quagmire in our cities.

LA's Rampart Division scandal was discovered almost accidentally. None of the checks and balances—prosecutors, defense lawyers, police commission, the inspector general—detected or prevented a subculture of violent lawlessness in the LAPD's anti-gang unit, known as CRASH (Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums). It started to surface when a CRASH officer, Rafael Perez, was caught stealing and selling cocaine from the evidence room. He began spilling his guts in exchange for a lower sentence.

The story told by the officer was nothing new to the homeboys on the streets of Pico Union, East LA and South Central. But it stunned those citizens who, relying on television images of the "thin blue line" defending middle-class civilization, had blindly supported CRASH since its inception in 1979. Perez revealed that he and his partner shot an alleged teenage gang member, Javier

Francisco Ovando, in the head, planted a gun on his body, then arrested him for threatening to kill them. When Perez's story checked out, the wheelchair-bound Ovando was released, but that was only the beginning. It turned out that CRASH units engaged in self-recruitment like armed fraternities, "jumped in" (hazed) their own members and engaged in shooting, beating, framing, planting false evidence and turning immigrants over to the INS for immediate deportation and held awards parties at the police academy afterward. Like Ovando, some of these CRASH targets were never convicted of a crime. More than 3,000 convictions have been tainted by the dubious testimony of crooked cops, and the projected cost of lawsuits to the city is at least \$200 million.

The CRASH scandal involves more than corrupt cops or police brutality against innocent people based on race. It is the inevitable result of gang profiling, a variant of racial profiling, a paramilitary-style counterintelligence program like those from an earlier era. Last year the LAPD campaigned to remove 2-inch plastic "homie" dolls from local stores on the grounds that they would motivate kids to join gangs. At the same time, an LAPD riot squad broke up a peaceful hip-hop concert at Venice Beach, arrested and prosecuted a young Asian woman for inciting the crowd and was eventually forced to drop all charges. The cost to taxpayers was \$3 million. Few in mainstream society even noticed these outrages because they were aimed at a dehumanized enemy.

CRASH units routinely "jam" and strip homeboys on street corners, photograph their tattoos and arrest them for trivial offenses like loitering or warrant violation. A 1988 California anti-terrorism law legalizes a dragnet approach to anyone who looks like a gang member. Any three of the following criteria are enough to classify a person as a "known" gang member, and any two define an "associate": (1) admitting membership, (2) associating with gang members, (3) corresponding with gang members, (4) being identified by another police agency, (5) tattoos, (6) writing graffiti or (7) wearing "gang clothing." According to the official LA coordinator of an interagency task force, "Only a very small portion of those arrested were actually hardcore gang members," while an INS agent said the real target is a "whole race of people."

The Los Angeles crisis is hardly an isolated one. In New York, for example, police have routinely stopped tens of thousands of blacks and Latinos on the basis of their profiles while actually arresting only a small percentage. The result of such dehumanization is evident in the obscene assault on Abner Louima and the sadistic killing of Amadou Diallo. Some 30,000 SWAT teams around the country are central to the emerging paramilitary culture in the law-enforcement establishment, a shadow police state for ghetto and barrio youth that would never be accepted in white suburbs. The routine collusion revealed in LA between CRASH and elements in the FBI and INS suggests that the "dirty war" is national in scope.

These repressive policies were given academic respectability by law-and-order intellectuals like James Q. Wilson, a key adviser to Mayor Riordan of Los Angeles and Mayor Giuliani of New York. In his book *Thinking About Crime*, Wilson denounces the liberal emphasis on root causes and approvingly quotes Princeton sociologist Norman Ryder's warning of a "perennial invasion of barbarians [young people] who must somehow be civilized."

CALVIN TRILIN

SECOND THOUGHTS

So what was the matter with Kasich?
And what was so bad about Dole?
And why did we sour on poor Gary Bauer
And find naught in Hatch to extol?

And what was the problem with Gephardt?
And why did we seem to ignore
The Democrats who, at least in their view,
Were credible options to Gore?

With options now gone for both parties,
The winners don't hold us in thrall.
We're now sighing sighs that these are the guys
We're stuck with for good in the fall.

By the nineties it had become the conventional wisdom that after thirty years of Great Society promises, the inner city was beyond repair by traditional liberal measures. Unemployment was left to the market, decaying schools to the budget cutters, and voters weary of liberalism turned to Republican mayors in our two largest cities. Riordan and Giuliani followed the whispered advice of consultants who cared only about soccer moms. Many white liberals were relieved at first, even enthusiastic at the emphasis on more police and fewer tattooed youth on the streets. Did they know that brutal abuses were being inflicted on minority young people so they could walk to Starbucks? Or were they in denial? Or did they consciously suspend their liberalism for a new and subtle brand of racism that accepted turning the police loose?

The LA liberal community was initially slow to respond to the Rampart scandal, in part because it was about police abuse of gang members rather than law-abiding persons of color. Then forceful calls for an independent outside prosecutor began to be heard. The question, Who will police the police? has rarely been raised so clearly. The Justice Department revealed that it has been secretly monitoring the LAPD since the O.J. Simpson verdict without making the results public. The FBI, and the INS itself, is investigating the INS on charges that it colluded with the police. LA District Attorney Gil Garcetti is blaming the LAPD's failure to cooperate for his slowness to act. Police Chief Bernard Parks calls Garcetti a liar and insists that the department investigate itself without the DA and turn the findings over to the Feds. After months of silence, the Mayor-appointed police commission has announced plans for its own investigation. Riordan has remained invisible, and the City Council has finally awakened to the public dialogue after prompting by the *Los Angeles Times*.

The incapacity of Los Angeles to wash its dirty linen is shown by the history of police-reform efforts going back to the McCone Commission of 1965, the Christopher Commission of 1991 and the post-Christopher review of 1997. Calls for a tough inspector general and for tracking and removal of brutal officers have been stalled repeatedly by inertia and cowardice. To make matters more complicated, none of the previous reform commissions addressed the gang profiling at the heart of the current mess.

The fetishism of the market combined with the death of big government, as pronounced by President Clinton, leaves incarceration the emerging centerpiece of domestic crime policy. But there is an alternative to the garrison state for the poor. It would consist of greater community empowerment in both policing and investment decisions, with a particular focus on rescuing, educating and training at-risk youth. It would mean a major federal commitment of resources to the inner cities, already ruled out by neoliberal Democrats (who don't mind throwing billions at basket-case economies abroad for the sake of private investment).

This is not the time for business-as-usual Democratic politics, which, because of a fear of being painted as the party of Willie Horton, has promoted more police and prisons for a decade. The crises in Los Angeles and New York mean that Clinton's "bridges to the twenty-first century" are without on-ramps from the ghetto and barrio.

TOM HAYDEN

Tom Hayden is a member of the California State Senate.

Nuclear Power Play

The federal government is reviewing the first-ever application to relicense a nuclear power reactor. But the process has been tainted by a manipulative regulatory change that ignores the health of nearby residents as a criterion for renewal. Baltimore Gas and Electric has requested that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission relicense the two Calvert Cliffs reactors operating on Maryland's Eastern Shore since the mid-seventies. On April 3 the NRC is scheduled to decide whether to extend these licenses from 2016 to 2036, effectively permitting operation for up to sixty years. No reactor has yet lasted even thirty-five years.

The relicensing issue has become more critical since the February 15 accident at the Indian Point 2 reactor, thirty-five miles north of New York City. Radioactive releases from leaky steam generators used by many aging plants have moved Consolidated Edison to re-examine future options for the (now closed) reactor. Options faced by many utilities boil down to closing, selling or relicensing.

After owners of the Yankee Rowe plant in Massachusetts abandoned plans to request an extension and opted to shut down, NRC bureaucrats huddled and streamlined (read, stripped) regulations in 1995. Among the changes was elimination of the mandate to assess health effects of radioactive emissions. The National Whistleblower Center has argued in federal court to expand the gutted rules, but currently, health effects remain a nonissue for relicensing. Operators of the Oconee nuclear plant in South Carolina have also requested an extension, and others may soon follow suit.

The NRC actions continue industry's and government's tradition of ignoring and suppressing information on harmful health effects of reactor emissions. Calvert Cliffs is a case in point. According to figures in a 1996 commission report, the chance of a dangerous accident at the plant over sixty years is 1 in 83, four times higher than similar reactors and twice the NRC's goal. Limited space to store dangerous used fuel rods presents another safety threat. Legislation to store all fuel rods centrally at Yucca Mountain, Nevada, has stalled in Congress, meaning Calvert Cliffs will be stuck with this problem indefinitely. The NRC has placed Calvert Cliffs on its "watch list" several times, and it was shut for repairs for a year in the late eighties.

Perhaps most disturbing, since 1990 the death rate among children and young adults has risen rapidly in the six-county area downwind and within fifty miles of the plant. Childhood cancer deaths have tripled. The nearly 300,000 people who live in the region flanking Chesapeake Bay may have been affected by radioactivity that has made its way into the local air, water, milk, vegetation and fish. But the NRC and Baltimore Gas and Electric want this information banned from all public forums.

Numerous scientific articles indicate that living near nuclear plants carries an increased risk of disease and death. Even the Energy Department recently confirmed that exposure of atomic weapons workers to radiation caused unexpectedly high levels

(Continued on Page 24)

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Hold That Nun-Killer!

"Judge Hiller assigns Lindsay the repugnant task of defending nun-killer Michael Kingston. Lindsay discovers that the police search that found the body was unconstitutional and, against all her morals, moves that Kingston be released. Helen delivers an impassioned argument, stating that the Constitution was designed to protect the innocent, a category that doesn't include Kingston. In the end, Judge Hiller has no choice but to strike the body from evidence and dismiss the charges."

What's this? Episode 53 of ABC's *The Practice*, as synopsized on epguides.com, is what it is, first broadcast on March 28, 1999, and recently repeated. *The Practice*, about a law firm, is produced by David Kelley, formerly a writer out of the Steve Bochco stable, itself a notable dispenser of horseshit down the years. The show is regarded as cultural provender of rare quality, basking in the soft glow of liberal approval. Awards enhance the producer's office wall, including: an Emmy for "Outstanding Drama Series." The ABC website purrs complacently that "this series brings a freshness to the courtroom drama franchise [!] by focusing on the complexity and moral ambiguity of our legal system."

Let's take a closer look at the complexity and moral ambiguity of episode 53. A nun is hacked to pieces by a depraved killer, but the cop who found her body allegedly violated the Fourth Amendment's protections against unreasonable searches and seizures. The attorney representing the heinous killer argues that the corpse must be suppressed as evidence. The prosecutor argues that the search was constitutionally permissible and that the exclusionary rule is nonsense in any event. The judge duly gives a big speech to the effect that the Fourth Amendment has been perverted. He says it's awful to be forced to exclude evidence. Then the judge rules that the illegally observed evidence must indeed be suppressed. The killer is turned loose while the nuns in the audience gasp. The prosecutor and defense counsel (who is her best friend) embrace each other and sob over what's happened. Across the nation, fans of *The Practice* wag their heads in dour agreement that the Bill of Rights and kindred protections should be shoved in the trash can.

Jim Fahey, a criminal defense attorney in Eureka, California, tells me there isn't a judge in the country who would have ruled in the defense's favor in the circumstances portrayed in episode 53. Linda Fullerton, a criminal defense attorney in the East Bay who got the Ruth Young Award last year from the Bay Area's Women Defenders, agrees:

"The only time you ever win those kinds of motions is on something like a case involving one rock of crack. A dead nun? No judge would ever suppress that. Anyway, when was the last time the Fourth Amendment counted? It's very, very rare that any major piece of evidence is excluded, based on violation of the Fourth Amendment. If the writers of *The Practice* had been serious and knowledgeable, they would have had the judge find an exception to the Fourth Amendment and let the evidence in."

So here we have a "quality" show designed to make viewers



suspicious of constitutional protections. Other shows habituate viewers to the idea that cops can be effective guardians of the peace only if they trample on such protections. It was not always so. If one watches reruns of *Perry Mason* and *The Fugitive* one finds that police were often portrayed unsympathetically on the former, and usually on the latter. But for years now we've been subjected to a Niagara of pro-police propaganda on TV shows, 11 o'clock news reports and in the newspapers, such material providing the mulch for our present police culture.

My comments on copdom in recent columns elicited a furious letter from one *Nation* reader, Judith Rock, who writes that she's a person from the sixties who became a cop for a while and that I'm wantonly condemning all cops. I'm not. There are good cops. But, Ms. Rock, you don't get it. Today the moral credentials of police forces across the country are as frail as those of major corporations, whose conduct has provoked a movement seeking to revoke their charters. Scarcely a day goes by without one coming across some fresh outrage, like the case of Patrick Dorismond, first the object of attempted entrapment, then of lethal assault, by undercover cops in Rudolph Giuliani's New York (his killer turned out to have at least one dog-shooting in his past, along with charges of domestic abuse, later withdrawn, against his wife).

To state some basics. Police perjury is epidemic. Cops themselves jovially call it "testilying." Racism is endemic too. Remember the police-radio broadcasts after the King beating, showing cop after cop, over an extended period of time, making straight-up racist remarks about "towel-head Indians" and "gorillas in the mist"? Not so long ago Los Angeles had a police chief, Daryl Gates, who said blacks had a problem with chokeholds because their blood vessels are different.

Whenever people speak out about our burgeoning police state they get whacked by enablers like Rock who claim that the majority of cops are good guys. Remember how many times we all heard the word "aberration" after the King beating. A lot of these enablers are, like Rock and the producers of *The Practice*, boomers who once professed to be "anti-establishment" but who have spent their mature years in atonement.

Most white politicians are far too scared to make police or prosecutorial misconduct a major issue. They pull in money and endorsements from police and prison-guard associations. Many, like Giuliani, are former prosecutors. They'd vote down the Bill of Rights in a second. True to form, Bill Clinton recently offered the most exquisite distillation of this cowardice. At the thirty-fifth anniversary of the police rampage on the Edmund Pettus Bridge at Selma he piously proclaimed, "As long as African-Americans and Latinos anywhere in America believe they are unfairly targeted by police because of the color of their skin, and police believe they are unfairly targeted by their communities because of the color of their uniforms, we have another bridge to cross."

Such grotesque evenhandedness, and not even a jeer or a cavil from the audience of civil rights veterans or the press corps! ■

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Brains in a Bottle

In the April issue of *Scientific American*, Joe Tsien, an assistant professor of molecular biology at Princeton University, writes that his laboratory's successful genetic enhancement of the memory function of mice could one day lead to the commercial production of drugs "to treat brain disorders such as Alzheimer's disease or even, perhaps, to boost learning and memory capacity in normal people." Ultimately, Tsien assures the reader, such enhancement, which he explicitly links to greater intelligence, would "extend beyond the individual and transmit our culture and civilization over generations. [Learning and memory] are major forces in driving behavioral, cultural and social evolution."

In the *New York Times*, Lee Silver, also a professor of molecular biology at Princeton, opines: "The public is understandably nervous about the idea of companies profiting from our genetic code. But if the goal is to make this genetic information useful as soon as possible, the debate should be focused on fair business practices and regulatory issues, not ethics."

Both Silver and Tsien hold interests in companies that are poised to capitalize on the sale of any such patents or drugs.

I suppose that "our culture" could be improved through enhanced memory. Better griots. Optimal maze performance in the great corporate rat race. I suppose, too, we would survive any potential side effects—what if unusual capacities for rote memorization are associated with a higher incidence of the kinds of obsessive-compulsive disorders suffered by those who never, ever, forget to wash their hands? Of course, it might take a large control group and several lifetimes to test for this kind of side effect, which would not, I suspect, satisfy the industry interest in making this information available "as soon as possible."

But what Silver calls the understandable nervousness of the public no doubt has less to do with the civilizing powers of good memory—Monica Lewinsky is said to have a photographic memory, and just think how she advanced civilization—than with the casual split of "fair business practices and regulatory issues" from any notion of ethics. As a teacher of commercial law, I was under the impression that fair business practice did involve ethical judgment, if only among the community of merchants.

Rather, Silver seems to mean that the distribution of biotechnological data should be regulated *only* by business values and not by religious, humanistic or social concerns. Under this formulation, genetically engineered or drug-induced superintelligence becomes a product like any other, subject to the same rational economic interests that govern the distribution of blue Jell-O, ball bearings or Britney Spears, but priced as a luxury item. Racial and class superiority in a designer bottle. Nor, given the times, do I foresee such socialist tomfoolery as dumping a little fluoridated bio-elixir in the water supply so that there would be equal opportunity for all to outwit each other in the advancement of our various civilizations.

What a future we as a species face—the spoils of civiliza-

DIARY OF A
MAD LAW
PROFESSOR

tion controlled by really rich know-it-alls.

If this sounds like a biologically literal translation of historically familiar ideological struggles for dominance, then it is worth bearing in mind the political risks of such a state of affairs: the age-old resentment of those deemed unattractively underendowed, us genetically impoverished "know-nothings."

Which brings us back to ethics after all. The drugs, the genetic alterations, the molecular data to be sold in this emerging eugenic marketplace, pertain to the building blocks of life. Sale of human life, whether in bits, bytes, pieces or whole, has always been the source of political and ethical struggle. Whether the subject is eggs, blood, sperm, organs, labor, adoption, welfare or now genes, we face a time-honored social tension between whether to give or to sell, between who sacrifices and who receives. The nearly global proscription (however much actually violated) against the commodification of life is reiterated in laws against slavery, prostitution and sterilization of the poor and in social contracts promoting general health, safety, education and respect. We all, from the greatest to the least endowed, seek dignity, corporeal integrity and the basic right to exist.

Sometimes the moral basis of such concern is clear enough. A few weeks ago, a man near Detroit tried to sell his 10-month-old daughter for \$60,000, an act certainly devoid of ethics yet remarkable nonetheless for the father's "fair business practice" of circulating a promotional video that touted the child's "amiable disposition," her blond hair, her blue eyes and the fact that she had had "all her shots." Most of us can understand instantly that the highest bidder might not be the one with the best interests of the child in mind. The ethic of the marketplace favors that highest bidder, but we prefer the ethic of adoption, custody and human rights law, which favors, at least in principle, the best protector.

These days there is a faddish premium on the child prodigiously endowed with brains, beauty or the sportsman's bulk; that child who can move straight from kindergarten to college or career, thus sparing his parents the financial burden of all those years of private school. But we sacrifice an important part of our political ideology when we subject what until recently was the "pricelessness" of our humanity to the pecuniary speculation of the market, which, like other forms of unchecked power, turns the right to just be into a corrupted sense of entitlement.

As I write these words, I hear my son and a friend at play. The friend is teaching my son how to belch the alphabet backwards. My son, no slouch of a mouse himself, learns rapidly, contributing a little two-part harmony by belching contrapuntally and in a different key. The boys have brains, I marvel, as I walk next door to interrupt their dizzy music with a bit of Core Knowledge about the risks of hyperventilation. But it's a perfect example of what my gentle godmother once said of Machiavelli: Sometimes having brains is not what matters most. ■

ERIC ALTERMAN

Into the Muck

That the mainstream media are increasingly conservative and gossip-driven is not exactly news. Interestingly, the gossip media, even when judged by their own debased standards, also seem to exhibit a political tilt. A prime reason for this is the fact that the mogul who specializes in financing the best of them, Australian newspaper baron Rupert Murdoch, is himself a committed right-wing ideologue who uses his media properties to romance reactionaries and assault his liberal adversaries. Even a hint of leftish malfeasance is therefore often front-page news for a Murdoch tabloid. For conservatives, however, the dirty deed in question has to be so heinous—or titillating—that its buzz factor overcomes the weight of ideological inconvenience.

Something like that took place recently when the *New York Post*, a money-losing tabloid composed almost entirely of gossip and sports, reported that a conservative “opinion-maker” had “made the mistake of having an affair with a woman in her 20s who never mastered reproductive biology.” The unfortunate woman had had an abortion and a miscarriage. But that’s not all. It seems her mother had also had a fling with the same “right-wing philosopher.” The mother faxed a complaint to his office, where it was gleefully shared with many inquiring minds.

As this was a blind item—none of the principals are identified by name—it could easily be entirely fictional. (Such was the case of another such item, on the same page, in which happily married *New York Times* pundit Frank Rich was alleged, ridiculously, to be having a homosexual affair with a theater producer and—somehow—intervening with the newspaper’s arts coverage to promote his new lover.) The only person actually named anywhere in the recent mother/daughter story, James Carville, said to be “investigating” it, says it’s news to him.

Still, if a Murdoch gossip writer is doing a hit-job on a fellow right-wing warrior, it’s hard to believe some mother’s daughter is not crying somewhere. Moreover, the item got me thinking. What if, aside from the usual focus on important matters like Julia Roberts’s shaving habits and Monica Lewinsky’s choice of desserts, Murdoch’s mafia went after conservative hypocrites with the same gusto it keeps in reserve for Bill and Hillary? What if the *Post* went after the boss himself? Might it suddenly seem as if the nation was awash in an epidemic of moral degeneracy among the right-thinking? Consider the possibilities:

The Murdoch Item. What conservative mogul responsible for the network broadcast of the most obscene show in history—*Who Wants to Marry a Multimillionaire?*—was recently hit with obscenity charges in India? He also publishes a cheeky British tabloid with at least one topless “lovely” per day. This same mogul, who has been known to censor his publications to appease Communist dictators, recently made headlines casting aside thirty-one years of holy matrimony to create a love nest with News Corporation employee Wendy Deng, whose age, 31, coincidentally, matched exactly the number of years the “arrogant Aussie” and the ex-missus had been married.



The Podhoretz Item. What portly, pot-smoking editor of Murdoch’s *New York Post* editorial page was demoted recently after alienating much of his staff, rewriting and distorting one reader’s letter to the editor and responding with a pithy “fuck you,...moron” to another? The ex-editor seems to have finally done himself in by penning a bizarre column in which he implied that the tragic death of John F. Kennedy Jr. in a plane crash was divine revenge for Joe Kennedy’s pro-Nazi politics. This same fellow, who seems to bounce from Murdoch

to Moonie publications every few months, shocked *Weekly Standard* readers by announcing of his betrothed, “in her calm, there is the permanence I seek.” Unfortunately, the permanence, like the marriage, lasted only slightly longer than the union of Rick and Darva. Soon the Pod was back on the prowl.

The Will Item. What culturally conservative pundit, whose column runs in Murdoch’s *New York Post*, left his wife and family for right-wing heiress Lally Weymouth? According to the *Washingtonian*, the scorned Mrs. Will dumped the pundit’s belongings on their front lawn with a note: “Take it somewhere else, Buster.” The romance dwindled, however, and Weymouth soon took up with the then-married then-editor of the *New York Post* editorial page, apparently a real hot-spot for romantic right-wingers.

The Gingrich Item. What former right-wing Speaker of the House cheated repeatedly on his first and second wife, forced the former to sign an unfavorable divorce settlement while she was in the hospital recovering from life-threatening surgery and opted for a career of deadbeat dad, compelling his family to accept donations from their church in order to stay alive? While leader of a conservative “revolution,” this GOP generalissimo admitted a six-year extramarital affair. He is now employed as a commentator by Murdoch’s Fox Network, a position he shares with prostitute-toe-sucker Dick Morris. No word on whether the former pot-smoker and pornography defender formed an “adulterers and homewreckers” caucus with Republican conservatives Bob Livingston and Henry Hyde while plotting to impeach President Clinton for lying about sex.

The McLaughlin Item. What ex-priest and later-married right-wing talk-show host paid an expensive settlement to a former employee, who complained that he told her he “needed a lot of sex” and, in return, “would take care of every material desire” she had? The onetime Jesuit loudmouth, who does not, at this writing, work for Murdoch, was also said to have instructed this employee that he “owned” her and on several occasions touched her “intimately and against her will.”

The “W.” Item. What presidential candidate was caught, at 26, driving dangerously drunk and, when confronted, tried to beat up his old man—also, as it happened, a presidential type himself? Asked if he was also on cocaine, this darling of Christian conservatives replied, “I was young and irresponsible, and I behaved young and irresponsibly.” Expect to see a lot of this irresponsible young man on Murdoch’s Fox network this fall. ■

ARTICLES

During the past two decades, as random financial crises visited various fast-growing economies, we have become familiar, after the fact, with the profile of a developing country that's headed for trouble. A booming, modernizing industrial system expands so robustly that it's described as a "miracle" (Mexico, Korea, Indonesia, Brazil, to name a few). Its financial markets soar as foreign capital rushes in to invest and share in the bountiful returns. The country takes on short-term foreign debt at a disturbing pace—much faster than national income is growing—but no one pays much attention because the exuberant lending seems to confirm the bright prospects. Then, one day, investors redo the arithmetic and realize their expectations are wildly exaggerated. As they rush for the door, taking their capital, the currency collapses. Deep recession follows. The miracle is exposed as illusion.

In present circumstances, oddly enough, the country that fits this profile is the United States, where surging economic growth is also portrayed as miraculous. The United States is unlikely to experience a full-blown currency crisis like Mexico's or Indonesia's, since the dollar is the hard currency everyone relies upon as the anchor in global commerce. But the fundamentals are more similar than American triumphalism will acknowledge, and America's prosperity can vanish just as swiftly if foreign investors decide to take back their money.

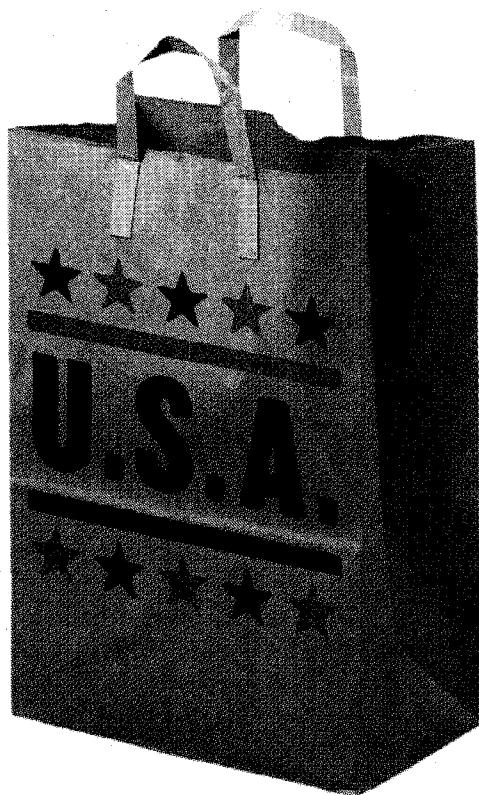
An abrupt exit by foreign capital would be a disaster for the United States but also for the world as a whole. That's because the United States has used the borrowed money mainly to sustain its unique role as buyer of last resort—keeping the system afloat by mopping up the world's excess output. As a result, surging US imports are producing record trade deficits—nearly \$300 billion last year, almost triple the deficit of 1995. The authorities acknowledge that the imbalance is unsustainable and must be adjusted, but they blandly advise us not to worry. After all, America has been running persistent trade deficits—buying more than it sells in the global system, a lot more—for more than two decades, and nothing terrible seems to have happened (if one ignores millions of lost

manufacturing jobs). Swollen imports from Asia and elsewhere, it is said, reflect heroic efforts by US consumers to revive economies smashed by the global financial crisis that unfolded in 1997.

America's anachronistic role as backstop purchaser for the trading system originated in the cold war. The twin objectives of ideological triumph and commercial advance were always intertwined in US policy and mutually reinforcing at a deep level.

Washington provided the capital, foreign aid and military procurement to rebuild Europe and develop Asia's miraculous tigers; it granted easy access to the US market and even awarded shares of US production to far-flung allies. That was the glue that held the alliance together, keeping nations from "going red," while it also extended the reach of US multinationals and investors.

"The US de-emphasized savings and encouraged consumption, even to the point of providing tax deductions for consumer credit interest expenses," Robert Dugger of the Tudor Investment Corporation explained in testimony before the US Trade Deficit Review Commission. "This policy supported the evolving export-led growth strategies of US allies.... The United States cold war economy won because it essentially outconsumed the USSR and China." When the cold war ended a decade ago, the ideology disappeared but the economic strategy remained



Shopping Till We Drop

by WILLIAM GREIDER

in place, stripped of the patriotic fervor for liberating people and now nakedly devoted to commercial/financial objectives.

But this cannot continue. Since early 1998 the United States has provided roughly half the total demand growth in the entire world, according to the International Monetary Fund. The more ominous fact is that America's status as a debtor nation has deteriorated rapidly during the booming prosperity of the past three years. The cumulative net obligations to foreign creditors from the many years of trade deficits reached an astonishing 18 percent of GDP by the end of 1998 and by now may be 20 percent or higher. That compares with 13 percent of GDP in 1997. Ten years before, it was zero. In short, the hole is deepening at an accelerating pace. Sooner or later, foreign investors will react with alarm.

I dwell on these unfashionable facts because I believe they provide the starting point for thinking about economic reforms in the global system. When the reckoning does arrive, there's a danger of confused, reactionary backlash among innocent bystanders who get hurt, but the moment will also expose the fallacies of the reigning orthodoxy, particularly the so-called Washington consensus, which imposes the neoliberal strait-jacket on developing nations. That will be a rare opening in itself.

More important, the social ideas and moral values already being advanced by the new movement against corporate-led globalization should gain greater respect because their relevance as economic solutions will become clearer. Labor rights, corporate accountability, the sovereign power of poorer nations to determine their own destiny—these and other reform causes involve more than fairness. They also provide essential answers to the economic maladies and instabilities embedded in the present system. In a previous article ["Global Agenda," January 31] I described some modest first steps toward building new global rules for social and moral equity. Reforming the economics of globalization is obviously more daunting, but it starts with a simple proposition: The pursuit of common human values—what people around the world recognize as justice—is not in conflict with our economic self-interest; in fact, the two can be mutually reinforcing.

The core contradiction in the global economy—enduring overcapacity and inadequate demand—is usually obscured by the more visible dramas of financial crisis because it is located in the globalizing production system, the long-distance networks of factories and firms that produce the goods and services flowing in global trade. Corporate insecurity—the fear of falling behind, the need to keep driving down costs, including labor costs—is what generates globalization's greatest contradiction. Alongside energetic expansion and innovation, the system generates vast and growing overcapacity across most industrial sectors, from chemicals to airliners. My favorite example is the auto industry, which in the spring of 1998 had the global capacity to produce 80 million vehicles for a market that would buy fewer than 60 million. This excess sounds irrational (as it is), considering that the multinationals are esteemed for sophisticated strategic management. Yet each corporation decides (perhaps correctly) that it has no choice but to disperse and expand production for survival—moves that seem smart and necessary in their own terms but that collectively deepen the imbalances of overcapacity and quicken the chase for new markets. So we witness the recurring episodes of giddy overinvestment by firms, investors and developing nations, followed by financial breakdown. Then the process regains momentum and repeats itself somewhere else.

The overcapacity is further deepened by the "Washington consensus" enforced by international lending institutions. The doctrine pushes more and more countries to pursue the export model of development pioneered by Japan, except without any of Japan's equalizing features—the social guarantees, full employment and

minimized income inequality—or the protective measures that insulated its infant domestic industries from foreign competitors. The global system instead encourages countries to ignore or actively suppress labor rights and regularly opposes public-sector investment as a wasteful impediment to growth. Unlike developing Japan, South Korea or Taiwan, which shielded their producers, the new exporting nations are told they must keep their borders and financial systems wide open to foreign interests—that is, hostage to the global system—so they are unlikely to achieve the earlier success of Japan or the "tigers." The plain fact is that too many poor nations are now betting their futures on export-led growth—too many for most of them to succeed. These pro-capital, wage-

retarding policies contribute substantially to insufficient demand worldwide, the flip side of overcapacity or overinvestment. One can now appreciate why the US market is

so essential: If America taps out, who will buy all this stuff? The immediate pain would probably be felt most severely in poorer countries, which would lose their meager shares in global trade.

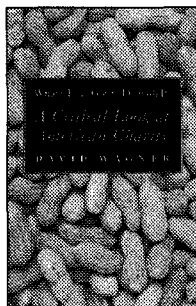
Actually, the remedy does exist for the United States to correct its lopsided trade flows swiftly and defuse the potential for global crisis, but it's not a measure Washington is likely to employ, given its pretensions as pre-eminent promoter of free-market dogma. The international rules of trade recognize the right of any nation that's sinking into a debt trap to impose emergency import limits to stop the financial drain (this is not regarded as protectionist unless it targets individual countries or products). Article 12 of the original GATT agreement of 1948 still authorizes this step to stanch the bleeding, but in fifty years it has seldom been used. Developing countries in trouble typically have found themselves unable to use the measure, since it would ignite retaliation from investors and trading partners. However, because it is the largest market, the customer everyone needs, the United States would be in a very different position, with enormous leverage. Yet the United States may also be past the point where it can introduce such a wake-up call. The political shock to an already fragile system might itself produce panic and crash.

What US authorities can and should do—but undoubtedly won't—is face up to the worsening condition with a frank, public recognition that compels their foreign counterparts to do the same. The mere mention of Article 12 by Washington would make for a sobering moment. If trading partners were faced with the threat, they could in theory work out an agreement for gradually correcting the US trade imbalances. The bulk of the problem, after all, is concentrated in a handful of trading partners: Japan, China, Canada, Mexico and Western Europe generate more than 80 percent of the deficit. More likely, these nations would stall, convinced that the United States was bluffing, as usual. Then Washington would have to work out, unilaterally, a step-by-step schedule for raising the bar—slowly curbing its import volumes so that others would have time to adjust and pick up the slack in demand.

Here at home, the imperative facing the United States is to discard the open-armed cold war economics, cut the losses and redefine the national interest in more pragmatic terms. This will require deep changes in domestic life, as the nation attempts to

The plain fact is that too many poor nations are now betting their futures on export-led growth for most of them to succeed.

The Independent Thought Channel



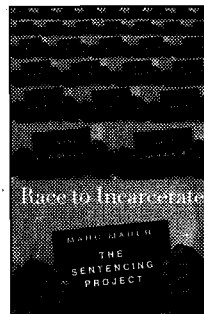
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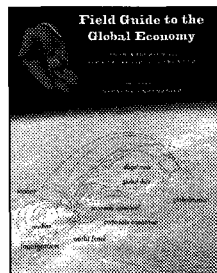


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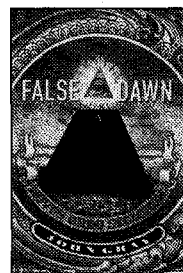
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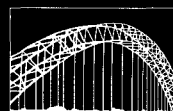
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shift from high to low consumption, from low to high savings policies. That transition is sure to be most unpopular in shopping-mall America and, given the gross inequality in incomes, will feel like stagnation or worse for the many families already deeply indebted. Thus an aggressive politics devoted to equality and to restoring public aid and equity will become even more essential, as will a new environmentalism that directly attacks the wastefulness embedded in modern production and consumption. There is plenty to go around in America, and there would be even more if we didn't throw so much away.

The US government must also begin to re-examine its obligations to the multinationals, like Boeing and General Electric, that call themselves "global firms" but rely on America and its taxpayers as home base. The multinationals typically plant a foot in one country, then export components to another location in the production chain, then do final assembly somewhere else and sell the product in many other places (or perhaps only in the United States). If GE is telling its jet-engine suppliers to move to low-wage Mexico, as it is, why should US taxpayers provide so many forms of subsidy to this company? Reducing the large abstractions of globalization to such hard-nosed particulars will get their attention and also clarify the relationship. The national interest should not be defined as enhancing returns for shareholders, with no obligations to broader values.

Indeed, the same principle ought to apply everywhere in the global production system, for poor nations as well as rich. The reforms that impose national and community obligations on companies will not halt the processes of integration or trade, but they will change the choices for company managers in very positive ways. As standards are imposed on their behavior, the multinationals will be compelled to give more scrupulous and long-term consideration to where they invest their capital. Globalization may slow overall, but it can also become a deeper, more permanent creation.

Deepening indebtedness compels the United States to get its own house in order. Meanwhile, the logical outline for reforming the global production system is also visible, at least in the form of plausible principles:

(1) The global system needs a new, more sophisticated version of Article 12 that would allow countries to correct the injury from unbalanced trade flows, more or less automatically, with temporary limits on imports. The mechanisms would define reasonable levels for action and the point at which other governments must respond by applying national influence over both their multinationals and financial investors (ultimately, this also requires reform of international financial institutions like the IMF, which will be the focus of a subsequent article). This approach recognizes that the marketplace of competing multinationals cannot succeed in managing supply and demand worldwide—not without creating cartels and trustlike alliances to do so. It implicitly suggests the basis for a grand bargain in which the leading industrial powers agree, at least informally, to assume greater responsibility for the developing nations in their spheres—that is, to take a greater share of the exports from regional neighbors. Japan is the most egregious case of evading this obligation.

The system must be refocused on the demand side: the promotion of rising incomes, in step with rising productivity.

(2) The system must be refocused on the demand side: the promotion of rising incomes, in step with rising productivity. Multinational competition now produces a reflexive imperative for companies to do the opposite, that is, expand productive capacity while at the same time suppressing demand. Labor rights and public spending are two reliable tools for bolstering demand, but both are scorned by present dogma and its operating rules. Another tool is national measures to impose more accountability on global firms and investors—rules that require longer-term commitments from them to the new countries where they invest in production, as well as concrete penalties for players "gaming" the system by hopscotching from one poor country to another. For instance, if a US firm refuses to embrace labor rights for its overseas workers, why should American taxpayers subsidize it through Export-Import Bank loans, government-backed insurance for overseas investment or the many tax breaks designed to promote globalization? In short, governments have a lot of sovereign leverage over global firms if they will use it.

(3) The heavy-handed "Washington consensus" and the many international trade rules that accompany it must be scrapped so developing countries will have breathing space to pursue their own distinctive plans for industrialization. The World Trade Organization, instead of becoming more intrusive, should be forced to back off and acknowledge that a poor nation may be better off in the long run by concentrating first on domestic economic fundamentals—education and health, public infrastructure, self-sufficiency in producing basic goods like food and pharmaceuticals—than by turning itself into another exploited export platform. A global network of WTO reformers, including Global Trade Watch in the United States, is already staking out this approach as its new either/or demand: Prune the WTO or shut it down.

(4) Once new principles are established, the wealthier nations must follow through with the money to help make them succeed—that is, capital in the form of substantial aid commitments. The above measures ought to generate much more equity in the global system—more people sharing in its wealth-creating benefits through greater income equality—but they will also moderate the pace of globalization. Slowing things down is a necessary step toward more stability, less random wreckage, but it also threatens the poor nations disproportionately unless the advanced nations guarantee that capital inflows will continue. The Jubilee 2000 debt-relief campaign offers a good beginning in what should become a much larger program of governments. The AFL-CIO, among others in the movement, has advocated significant new aid from the United States (always a laggard compared with others). The money is available if the United States ever comes to its senses and begins paring down its bloated military-industrial establishment.

Reforming global economics in the absence of a climactic crisis is hard politics, of course, but these suggestions make it clear that fundamental reform is more a matter of what politics will allow, not what economics is sound. The obligation is peculiarly centered in the United States because what's required is confrontation with America's own prideful establishment. It is not Japan, Germany or China tenaciously upholding the status quo's obvious flaws and inequities but Wall Street and Wash-

ington. America's fusion of corporate-financial-political interests is the principal obstacle to change, and, one concedes, those interests are unlikely to yield until events have delivered fear and loss to their doorstep too. The only way to change the politics before catastrophe occurs is mobilization of people around the world demanding these reforms.

For roughly fifty years, the United States and allied international institutions have lured or pushed poor nations into pursuing the export approach to industrial development and have implicitly promised to buy much of their production. Now, it appears, we may abruptly throw them over the side. The export-led model is doomed because the United States can no longer afford to sponsor it. Developing nations are entitled to be skeptical, since it will look to them like one more instance of the wealthy protecting themselves from the aspiring poor.

Lori Wallach, director of Global Trade Watch, has discussed the situation with anti-WTO activists from countries like Malaysia, India, the Philippines and Thailand, and has encountered their ambivalence. She tells her coalition partners that "you've got to break yourself of the addiction of export-led development because it is not going to be around for long." Their initial response is anger. "What they say first is, 'You can't do that to us!'" Wallach recalls. "'You've led us down this primrose path, and now you're saying you're going to take it away? You're not going to buy our exports?'" Yet, she explains, they also welcome the change, since these people have spent their lives fighting for self-sustaining, locally evolved economies—for pragmatic reasons but also as a matter of political independence.

The necessary first step, as this activist network has defined it, is an international mobilization to strip the WTO and institutions like the IMF of their imperious dictates for the developing world—the many rules that serve global capital but force poorer nations to forgo self-reliance in favor of an export economy. That agenda should be accompanied by debt relief for the poorest forty-one nations but also far more generous investment aid from advanced economies. Again, this is a matter of political will, not economics. For example, a modest transactions tax on global finance would amass a huge fund of low-cost capital that could be used to build domestic infrastructure in poor nations—projects that, for once, would not be beholden to the plans of multinational corporations.

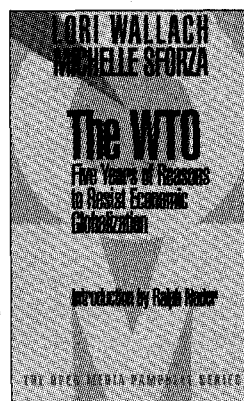
In a way, these measures are the easy part. The larger challenge is defining the plausible strategies and reasonable safeguards that enable a nation to concentrate first on inward-led development, without losing access to capital markets and becoming hostage to the usual treadmill of insecurity, in which companies threaten to move on if wages rise. The concept of development directed at the internal fundamentals has been advocated for many years, but the truth is that there are still not many living examples of success. Until the global rules change, it will be nearly impossible for an individual nation to do this without losing access to capital.

Contrary to the globalization propaganda, every poor nation is not going to get rich quick, certainly not for generations to come. But all nations could improve themselves and the lives of their citizens quite dramatically if allowed to pursue that goal on their own terms. The cold war is over, finally, and precious ideological distinctions about what is sound economics and what is forbidden should be buried with it. ■

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GEORGE W. RAKES IT IN WITH A LITTLE HELP ON THE Q.T. FROM HIS (AND DADDY'S) PALS.

The Bush Money Machine

SAM LOEWENBERG

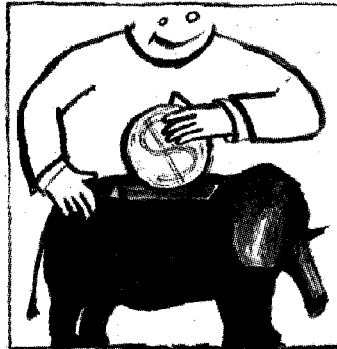
ELECTION



If George W. Bush makes it to the White House, he will have an exceptional number of friends waiting for him when he arrives in Washington. A "friend," to a Washington lobbyist, is a politician he's raised money for and expects favors from. The recent scandal over the pro-Bush ads placed by Texas Energy baron and hedge-fund king Sam Wyly only hints at the vast network of money men backing the Texas Governor. But even if the Federal Election Commission cracked down on shady expenditures like Wyly's, the real forces behind the Bush juggernaut—those raising federally sanctioned \$1,000 contributions—would continue unchecked. Bush has bagged more money to date than any candidate in history—upward of \$73 million—but figuring out who his fundraisers are is difficult, since there is no requirement to disclose them. Internal lists acquired by *The Nation* provide a rare insight into the interests behind the donations: They include tobacco, health insurance and drug companies, sweatshop owners, logging companies, foreign governments and banks involved in mega-mergers and money laundering.

The Bush campaign did release a list of "Pioneers"—those who have raised \$100,000 for the campaign—but it was incomplete; a private list is about three times as long. One name on that private list is Charles Hurwitz, head of Maxxam. Hurwitz's junk-bond-funded S&L ventures are estimated to have cost taxpayers \$1.6 billion. He used part of that money to acquire Kaiser Aluminum, after which he then locked out 3,000 Kaiser workers. Most recently Hurwitz has been trying to clearcut huge stands of California redwoods. His office had no comment on his fundraising, but probably much to his liking was a law Bush passed as Governor that said property owners must be compensated for government regulations that lower the value of their land.

Another name the campaign did not release was that of Raymond Hemmig, chairman of the board of ACE Cash Express, the nation's largest check-cashing company. In what is essentially legalized loan-sharking, the check-cashing industry both exploits the working poor through ruinous interest rates as high as 500 percent, according to the Center for Responsive Law, and serves as an easy conduit for money laundering, according to federal regulators. In testimony before a House banking subcommittee Hemmig argued against strengthening money-laundering regulations, because the extra paperwork would be too much of a burden on his industry.



KAREN CALDICOTT

His populist, outside-the-Beltway persona and folksy rhetoric notwithstanding, Bush is easily more of a Washington insider than Democrat Al Gore. Present at Bush's kickoff fundraising event last June were more than 2,000 of the local Republican faithful and 150 Washington lobbyists committed to raising more than \$25,000 apiece. (By comparison, Gore gathered less than twenty \$25,000 fundraisers for his kickoff.) The top fundraisers strutted proudly down a velvet-rope-lined path into a private back room. In keeping with the populist facade of the event, however, they only got a moment to pose with the Governor for a photo before they were thrust into the crowd.

Among the top lobbyist fundraisers:

§ Haley Barbour. The most powerful GOP influence merchant in the city, Barbour is the former chairman of the Republican National Committee and is credited with being one of the key engineers of the 1994 Republican revolution. As the head of Barbour, Griffith & Rogers, he has been the man to see in Washington for industries with government problems. So far he has an almost perfect record, representing the tobacco companies, health insurance companies, nursing homes and credit-card companies trying to tighten bankruptcy regulations.

§ W. Henson Moore. A former Republican Congressman from Louisiana, he now lobbies for powerful logging interests as head of the American Forest and Paper Association.

§ Deborah Steelman. Acknowledged by many to be the top healthcare lobbyist in the city, she is a former Reagan Administration official who now represents nearly every aspect of the healthcare-industrial complex. She is one of the Bush campaign's top advisers on healthcare issues, and rumor has it she is bucking for a Cabinet position.

§ Nick Calio. A former Bush White House lobbyist, Calio is a principal in one of the most powerful small firms in Washington, representing such clients as Boeing, General Electric and the Securities Industry Association.

§ Charlie Black. A longtime Republican operative, he is particularly close to right-wing Senator Phil Gramm, chairman of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee. Black has represented such diverse interests as Phillip Morris, El Salvador and GTECH Corporation, the world's largest lottery company.

§ Peter Terpeluk and David Metzner. This pair found a new favorite cause in George W., a lucky thing given the 1998 ouster of Senator Al D'Amato, who kept them in his inner circle. They've represented Lockheed Martin, the Indian Embassy and the Uniform Standards Coalition, a corporate group seeking tort reform.

§ J. Steven Hart. A former Bush Administration operative, he heads one of the city's oldest Republican influence-peddling firms. Hart, who has lots of business before the Senate Com-

Sam Loewenberg covers lobbying for Legal Times in Washington, DC. Research support for this and the following article was provided by the Elections 2000 Fund of The Nation Institute.

WHAT THE MEDIA ISN'T TELLING YOU

About Bertelsmann's Hidden Nazi Past In an expose trumpeted coast to coast, *The Nation* revealed that Bertelsmann - the largest book publisher in the U.S. - has carefully hidden its stalwart complicity with the Third Reich.

About Russia In "Harvard Boys Do Russia," *The Nation* showed how a team of Harvard economists sent the former Soviet Union into an economic spiral unseen during the most stagnant days of the Communist regime.

About The Wall Street Journal Contrary to its self-assessment as "the world's most important publication," Gore Vidal noted for *The Nation* "just how unknown this cheery neofascist paper is to the majority of Americans."

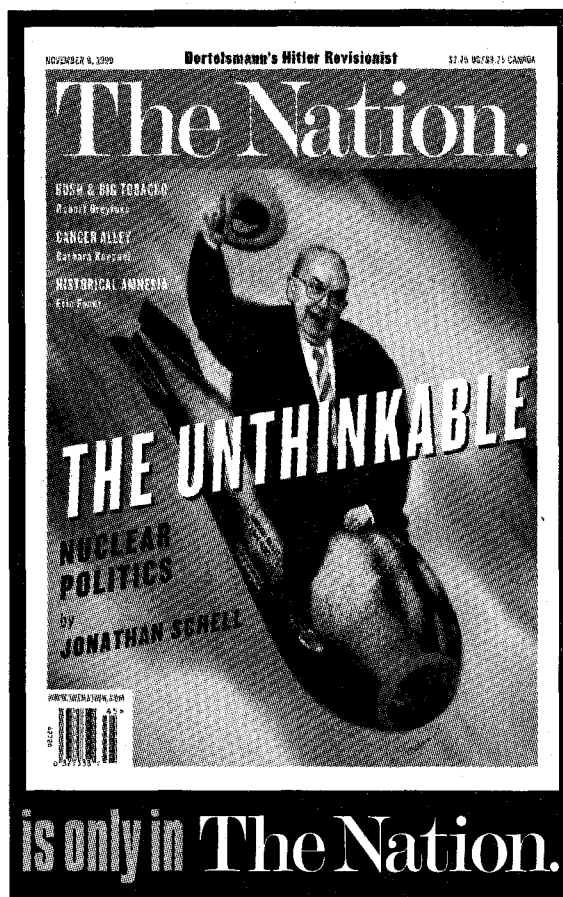
About Arts Funding As columnist Katha Pollitt wrote, "the right-wing attack on the National Endowment for the Arts is playing to a small, if ferocious, constituency. Contrary to stereotype, Americans *like* the arts, and the more access they have to them, the more they like them. New York City's museums these days are as crowded as Bloomingdale's. Last year Americans spent 50 percent more attending arts than sports events. Even poetry is showing signs of life."

About The Battle in Seattle. "Seattle was indeed a milestone of a new kind of politics. Labor shed its nationalism for a new rhetoric of internationalism and solidarity. Progressives replaced their apologetic demeanor of the past twenty years with confidence, style and wit."

About The Battle Beyond Seattle.

As William Greider put it in his debut as *The Nation*'s new national affairs correspondent, "Arrogance designed the WTO; arrogance will doubtless defend it. In the meantime, the WTO can serve as a splendid rallying point for popular resistance."

About The F.B.I. An intensive investigation for *The Nation* turned up everything from slovenly casework to massively skewed priorities. Example: Number of convictions for health and safety violations against employees in a single year: one. Number of telephone taps: 1.3 million.



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merce, Science and Transportation Committee, hedged his bets in the primaries by also raising funds for Commerce chairman John McCain. His firm's clients include AT&T, Du Pont Pharmaceuticals, and biotech giant Genentech.

§ C. Boyden Gray. A former counsel in the Bush White House, Gray is another go-to man for companies in trouble. His clients have included Loral Space and Communications and Citigroup, which is currently facing a Congressional investigation into money laundering. Gray also serves as chairman of Citizens for a Sound Economy, a corporate-sponsored think tank.

One prominent DC lobbyist who has raised nearly \$100,000 for Bush said that he and others regularly pass the credit for their own fundraising, or simply give cash directly, to powerful CEOs who are also raising money for Bush. "A lot of people give money to the corporate titans because the titan can help them, not because they care who the President is," says the lobbyist. "You match a real estate developer in California with a Pioneer who is a banker in New York, so they can get financing for their project in Nevada. If you help your friends get rich, you get rich."

And that may be the final word on the Bush campaign. ■

REMEMBER THE LINCOLN BEDROOM CROWD? THEY'RE BACK, FUNDRAISING FOR THE VEEP.

Gore's Secret List

KEN SILVERSTEIN

Now that he's secured the Democratic nomination, Al Gore should have no problem raising money for the fall election. Indeed, the Vice President has already drummed up \$37 million, about \$9 million more than the Democratic ticket raised in 1996. Still, given all the trouble that Gore and his running mate got into last time out—in March, Maria Hsia, a long-time friend of Gore's, was convicted of falsely reporting illegal contributions from Buddhist monks and nuns in 1996—Gore's current money quest is by no means simple. As Heritage Foundation analyst Marshall Wittman told *Legal Times*, "Fundraising is to Gore what spelling is to Dan Quayle. You can't have another incident."

Gore recently declared to the press that the fundraising "mistakes" he made in 1996 have left him with "a passion for campaign finance reform." Meanwhile, the Vice President's aides are carefully vetting donors and fundraisers to make sure no embarrassing names surface. To demonstrate openness, last July Gore's campaign released the names of twenty-five people—including wholesome folks like Nancy Zirkin of the American Association of University Women and Charles "Bones" Sievers of the Tennessee Municipal League—who are raising large amounts of money for his presidential run.

The Nation got hold of another list from the Gore campaign, though this one was not released publicly. Straight out of the offices of Terry McAuliffe, the noted Clinton bagman who is now supporting Gore, it contains the names of 140 top Democratic fundraisers—mostly lobbyists and corporate executives, along with a smattering of labor officials. The Veep's aides used the previously undisclosed list—which itemizes to the dollar what each person brought in for the Democrats in 1996—to help identify hot prospective fundraisers for Gore 2000. With that list in hand, *The Nation* was able to identify a number of Gore fundraisers who did



not appear on the roster of twenty-five; not surprisingly, those names were decidedly more controversial than the ones publicly disclosed. Given his newfound passion for reform, it's surprising that Gore is relying on quite a few of the same money chasers who caused so much embarrassment in 1996. Among them:

§ Michael Adler, a Florida real estate maven, raised \$50,000 for Clinton/Gore '96; in 1995 his company got a \$750,000 loan from the Small Business Administration. Adler attended last

December's Gore fundraiser at Nashville's Wildhorse Saloon, an event the Veep's staffers portrayed as a populist affair because they only charged \$35 a head. Turns out that while the plebes swilled beer down below, big donors like Adler took part in an exclusive gathering upstairs. Adler won't reveal how much cash he's raised for Gore 2000, other than to say it's a "significant amount."

§ Thomas Hendrickson (\$100,000 for Clinton/Gore in 1996) heads up Triangle Environmental, a Raleigh, North Carolina, firm that specializes in environmental "remediation." During the last presidential campaign, Hendrickson was a frequent flier on Air Force One and attended several kaffeeklatsches. Commerce Secretary William Daley has appointed him to his Environmental Technologies Trade Advisory Committee.

§ Stan Shuman (\$186,000 in 1996) is managing director of New York's Allen & Co., which Ken Auletta describes as "the unofficial investment-banking *consigliere* to many of the world's communications companies." During the '96 campaign Shuman spent a night in the Lincoln Bedroom, attended three kaffeeklatsches and was invited to several state dinners. In 1994 he received a special birthday call from the President. Shuman was also appointed by Clinton to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, though he has no relevant experience to speak of.

§ Gerald and Elaine Schuster (\$100,000 in 1996) are real estate tycoons who control the Massachusetts firm Continental Wingate. In 1999, Continental retained for contract negotiations the law firm of Jackson, Lewis, Schnitzler & Krupman, which runs nationwide workshops called "How to Stay Union-Free Into

Ken Silverstein is a freelance writer based in Washington, DC. His book Private Warriors, which examines the post-cold war arms trade, will be published in May by Verso.

the 21st Century." That led the Massachusetts state AFL-CIO to pass a resolution that calls for a boycott of any fundraiser at which Gerald Schuster is present. The bureaucrats at the Housing and Urban Development Department are no fans of the Schusters either. According to the *Village Voice*, HUD was forced to assume a caretaker role at a South Bronx apartment building owned by Continental Wingate when the company defaulted on \$27.4 million in US loans. One HUD memo cited "major life-threatening health and safety conditions" at the property. In addition to the Schusters' personal efforts for Gore, Continental Wingate donated \$10,000 in soft money to the Democrats this year.

§ Philadelphia lawyer Kenneth Jarin (\$85,000 in 1996) is also no friend of labor. In 1994 Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell paid Jarin and his firm several hundred thousand dollars to help keep the city's Law Department union-free. Jarin also represented Philadelphia in bitter negotiations with city workers during the Rendell years. "Jarin was involved in probably the worst set of union negotiations in Philadelphia's history," says Tom Cronin of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Jarin raised large sums for Clinton/Gore in '92 and was rewarded with a spot on the Administration's transition team; in 1994 Clinton appointed him to the National Council on the Arts.

§ Jack Bendheim (\$52,200 in 1996) is the owner of New Jersey's Phillip Brothers Chemicals, whose annual report discreetly notes that "at various sites, the company's subsidiaries are engaged in continuing investigation and/or remediation efforts to address contamination associated with their historic operations." Such efforts are under way in eight states as well as in Israel and Norway.

Corporate lobbyists are the heart and soul of Gore's fundraising efforts. As a group they collected \$600,000 for Gore in 1999 alone; millions more poured in from their clients. Among them:

§ Mel Levine (\$59,800 in 1996) is a former Democratic Representative from Los Angeles who now lobbies for companies like military contractor Northrop Grumman. Levine clearly understands the value and purpose of political contributions. After being defeated for re-election in 1992 he told a DC watchdog group, "[Political] decisions are clearly weighted and influenced...by who has contributed to the candidates. The price that the public pays for this process, whether it's in subsidies, taxes or appropriations, is quite high." Asked about those comments, Levine now says: "I've always worked for campaign finance reform. I hate the whole process, in particular soft money. I only do hard money, where there's a \$1,000 limit, and where I don't think anyone believes they are buying a candidate." Levine tells *The Nation* that he's already raised more than \$100,000 for Gore.

§ Thomas Wheeler (\$63,500 in 1996), heads the Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association (CTIA), whose member firms stand to reap billions from Gore's call to deregulate the telecom field and privatize the Internet. Wheeler works closely with Roy Neel, who served as Gore's Senate aide and vice-presidential chief of staff before moving on to the United States Telephone Association. The CTIA has given \$60,000 in soft money to the Democrats.

§ Robert Barrie (\$50,000 in 1996) is a longtime lobbyist for General Electric now based at the firm of O'Connor & Hannan. Barrie and other lobbyists worked closely with the White House in pushing through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1994. That year Barrie was central to the business lobby that won an extension of China's most-favored-nation status. A personal friend of Gore's, Barrie regrets that health problems have slowed him down. "I'm only unhappy because I can't be doing more," he says. "Gore is a smart guy with all the right instincts." ■

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Letter From Finland

by Aili Mari Tripp

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Imagine a US presidential election in which four out of the five leading candidates are women and in which a woman (naturally!) wins. Then, imagine that the new President is a leftist and Social Democrat, a single mom, unmarried with a partner, former head of a leading gay and lesbian rights organization, living in a modest apartment in a working-class section of the capital, and splurging on one extra dress for the presidential campaign while refusing any packaging or makeovers. Sound farfetched?

As impossible as it might be in the United States, it became reality for the 5.2 million citizens of Finland, where just such a person, Tarja Halonen, was recently elected the country's first female president. Halonen assumed office on March 1, making her one of six current female heads of state worldwide. She moved into the presidential residence with her two cats, two turtles and partner.

But wait, there's more.... Americans might also be surprised by the 80 percent voter turnout in the Finnish elections; the minimal campaign spending (the Green Party, for example, spent about \$33,000); the numerous, lengthy and issue-focused TV debates that gave all the candidates equal attention; and the short duration of the presidential campaign—roughly one month prior to the first round of elections. By US standards, advertising was negligible: For the most part, it constituted a row of equally sized posters for each candidate at selected bus stops, with the larger parties sponsoring a few more TV and newspaper ads for their candidates.

Women supporters of Halonen were euphoric when she won. Women around the country partied that night, and some went to work late the next day. Finns do not talk to strangers if they can help it, not even small talk, but one woman came up to me at the train station the morning after and burst out: "Isn't it great we have a woman president now!" One nurse at a hospital outside Helsinki said the male doctors there could not figure out the next morning why all the women patients, even the sickest ones, were smiling. One nurse brought in a cake, and all the female nurses and doctors celebrated.

That the new president is a feminist who has a deep understanding of problems of gender equity is astounding. But the election was not so unusual in the way women candidates were portrayed by the media or the way in which women's rights issues were sidelined. Finland has been a world leader regarding gender equality: It was the first European country to allow women the vote, in 1906, and women have been represented in Parliament since 1907. However, it was not until

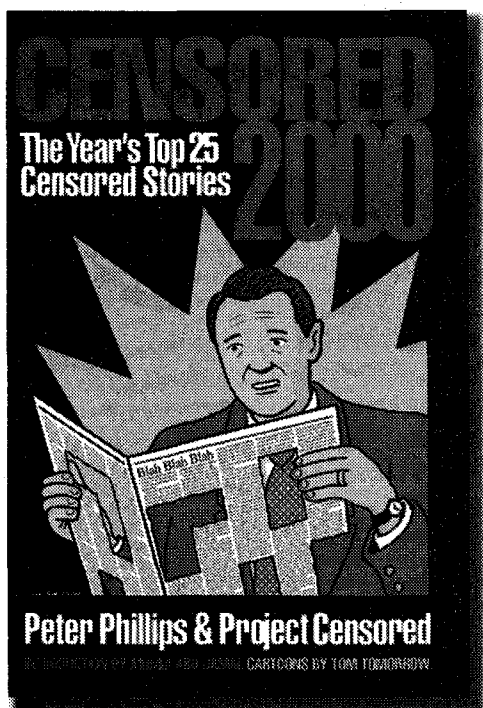
the eighties and nineties that a big push made Finland a world record-holder in parliamentary seats and ministerial appointments held by women. Today women claim 37 percent of the seats in Parliament, and out of eighteen ministers, eight of them are female.

The passage of the Equality Act in 1987 laid the basis for many of these changes. With that law Finland joined Norway in having the most extensive legislation promoting gender equity in the world. The 1995 introduction of gender quotas as an amendment to the Equality Act was applied to appointments at the national level, in municipal bodies and in some key regional bodies. This permitted qualified women to claim positions for which they otherwise might have been overlooked because of sex discrimination. In the nineties women ministers were appointed not only to the traditionally female-headed ministries such as education, social policy and health but also to finance, trade and industry, foreign affairs, labor, and transport and communications. Finland had the world's first woman defense minister in 1990 with the appointment of Elisabeth Rehn.

Helvi Sipilä was the first woman to run for president in Finland, in 1982. But it was not until 1994 that women began to pose a serious challenge; in that election Rehn lost narrowly to Martti Ahtisaari. According to political scientist Anne Maria Holli at the University of Helsinki, this surge of female presidential aspirants can be attributed to changes in the electoral system. The most recent election was only the second in which the electorate voted directly for the president. In the past the selection had been made by an electoral college. This new system has forced the parties to become more attentive to the interests of the electorate. In particular, they had to pay attention to the fact that the percentage of women who vote is greater than that of men and that women make up a larger proportion of the electorate.

Not surprisingly, women made a critical difference in Halonen's victory, although other factors, like her large southern urban constituency and labor backing, were also very important. About 57 percent of all women voted for Halonen, while 45 percent of all men voted for her. In the final round, she was up against Esko Aho, a former prime minister, who represented the conservative Center Party. That last round was a nail-biter, with Halonen winning 51.6 percent of the vote, or 103,000 votes more than her opponent. These last votes were delivered by young urban conservative women who had voted in the first round for the conservative woman candidate of the National Coalition Party, Riitta Uosukainen. Halonen told my (Finnish) mother at a charity fundraising dinner after the election that she found this surge of conservative support in the second round to be one of the most extraordinary features of the elec-

Aili Mari Tripp, an associate professor of political science and women's studies at the University of Wisconsin, is currently on research leave in Lahti, Finland. Tripp is a Finnish-American and is fluent in Finnish.



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tion, along with the large number of men who voted for her.

None of the women candidates drew attention to their own roles as mothers and wives, preferring instead to focus on foreign policy and other less personal issues. But Aho adopted “family values” as a central theme in his campaign and brought it up in a very personal way, holding up his children and a stay-at-home wife as a model. Many of his supporters, who were mainly from rural areas, did not approve of Halonen’s unmarried/single-mother status, nor of the fact that she openly stated that she did not belong to the Lutheran state church—matters that Halonen said were personal (she left the church at a time when it refused to ordain women).

Halonen’s honesty, along with her unwillingness to pander to the lowest common denominator, was a major factor in her victory. She may have toned down the red color in her hair during the campaign, but beyond that, she rejected most attempts by her campaign advisers to make over her looks, personality, personal life or beliefs, or to dilute her leftist politics even when they were clearly costing her support. Her campaign themes included human and individual rights, sexual equality and minority rights. She also pushed the Nordic-model welfare state, which has wide acceptance in Finland. Halonen is also associated with a leftist humanism that includes support for the developing world, promotion of nongovernmental organizations and active citizen involvement in politics.

While the women candidates attracted unwanted attention regarding their private lives and personal characteristics, the candidates themselves did little to raise women’s-rights issues throughout their campaigns, with the exception of Halonen and the Green Party candidate. I took my 11-year-old daughter to hear Halonen speak at a women’s-studies workshop and was struck by how clear and insightful she was in discussing the gains and limitations for women in Finland today. Rarely if ever did one hear from other candidates about the glass ceiling that keeps women out of the boardrooms of corporations, banks, professional associations and unions, and out of top university positions. In fact, one article in the Helsinki University newspaper suggested that the issue of women’s lack of advancement at the top was a taboo subject in the campaign.

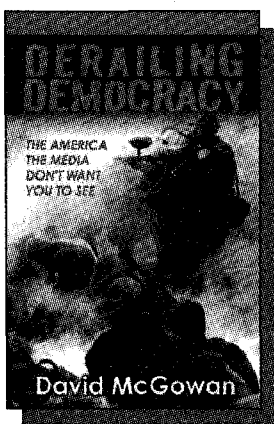
But it was not just a matter of what was taboo. The lack of discussion of equal opportunity also stems from the widespread myth that equality prevails and that it is up to everyone individually to advance themselves. Women as a group are often not seen as needing protection or special treatment. Yet women in Finland face higher rates of unemployment than men, they are more likely to have short-term contract jobs, and wage differentials between men and women are about 20 percent, even though women are generally better educated than men. Women also face rape, domestic violence and other forms of abuse and marginalization.

Even in countries where women’s status has improved considerably, the political arena is one of the last bastions of male predominance. Ironically, in Finland the gains in terms of gender equality in the political arena have perhaps outpaced gains in other sectors of society. Nevertheless, the level of acceptance of women as political contenders in Finland gives us some hint of how American politics might be different if we were to take gender equality more seriously. ■

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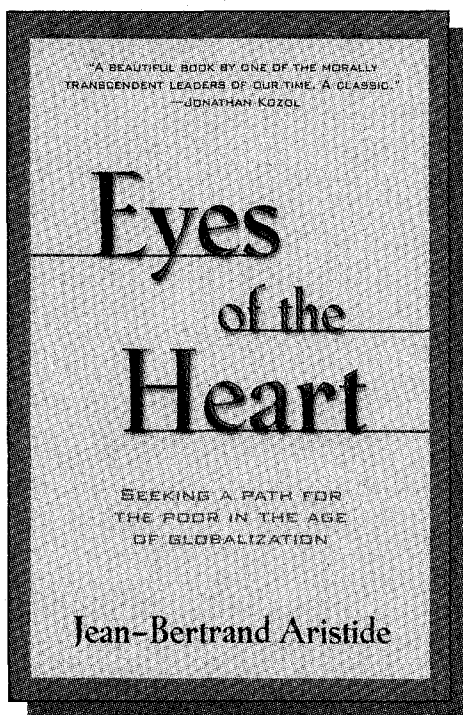
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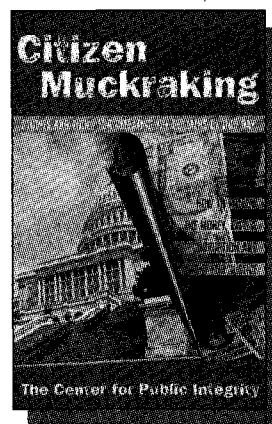
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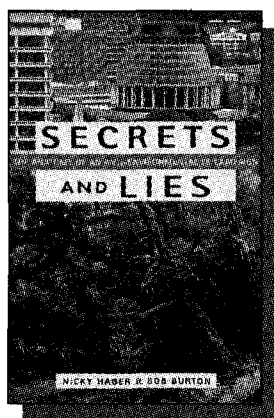
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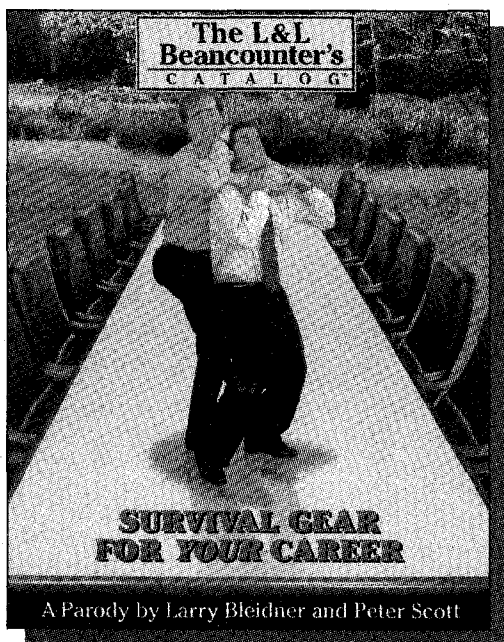
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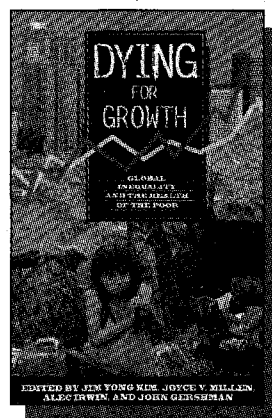
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EDITORIALS

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(Continued From Page 7)

of cancer and other immune system-related illness. However, the NRC, utilities and public health departments have never voluntarily performed a single study on cancer or other radiation-induced conditions, abdicating their mission of shielding the public from harm. Malfunctioning plants have been allowed to operate, and the NRC acts only when forced to do so.

The NRC's move represents a desperate attempt to keep a dying industry alive. The last reactor was ordered in 1978, and none are on the horizon. Twelve have terminated operations since 1987 (a new study shows that local infant deaths and childhood cancers plunge immediately after closing). Some older, failing reactors are now being approached for purchase at bargain-

basement prices by the Amergen company, owned by the nearly bankrupt British Nuclear Fuels. But these sales don't change the fact that nuclear power is neither clean nor cheap.

Since half of the 103 US reactors have been in operation for more than twenty-two years, relicensing may well be a last-gasp effort to keep many old nukes from shutting in the next decade. But regardless of how many reactors are relicensed, the attempt to leave health effects out of the dialogue is an irresponsible policy—and a threat to public health.

JOSEPH J. MANGANO

Joseph J. Mangano is a research associate with the Radiation and Public Health Project in New York City. For more information on the health effects of nuclear reactors, see www.radiation.org.

EXCHANGE

CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

his quixotic campaign to make the government of the Exxons, by the Du Ponts and for the General Motors into the government of, by and for the people.

MICHAEL DEAN HITCHCOCK

Iowa City

■ Katha Pollitt finds it "too depressing" to support Ralph Nader's goals of running a solid progressive campaign and helping the Green Party obtain ballot status in most states. Nader's platform contains a strong and wide-reaching critique of corporate hegemony, expressed in common-sense left-populist terms that resonate with the citizenry and that include practical reform proposals—an alternative to the conservatism of Gore-Bush-Buchanan that the public deserves to hear. More important, as the Green Party candidate, Nader is helping develop an authentic voice for the left. Where the Greens are successful, the Democrats will move to the left in search of the progressive voters they have taken for granted for so long. In some cases, Greens will be able to convince embattled Democrats to support proportional-representation. The Nader candidacy is no panacea. It will not satisfy those leftists who yearn for the heady (or headless) experience of social revolution. But it is an important step in the evolution of a grassroots progressive movement. If Pollitt wants to call out the hearse, let it be for pessimists and naysayers like herself. Many of us believe, with *Nation* columnist Daniel Singer, that the question "Whose millennium?" has not yet been definitively answered.

DAN COLEMAN

San Francisco

■ Hoorah to Katha Pollitt for naming the unmentionable elephant in the living room: pompous leftists' enthusiasm for Ralph Nader. The guy speaks not at all to the passions that drive the most volatile areas of US politics, the injuries of race and gender. Let the white-guy wonks keep their disembodied brain—and let's the rest of us get on with building some power to actually do some good.

JAN ADAMS

POLLITT REPLIES

New York City

■ In their snide and condescending attempt at humor, Marc Cooper and Micah Sifry deploy tropes that will be familiar to the many recipients of Marc's ire via print or e-mail. I'm a dogmatic and authoritarian preacher ("blasphemy," "devils," etc.), a sectarian communist ("ideological errors," "shining path") and a sexually repressive prig ("impure thoughts," "Harlot Huffington"). Why? Because I dared to query the wisdom of rerunning Ralph Nader, falling for John McCain and flattering Arianna Huffington. Apparently only Marc himself is allowed to write energetic polemics and to question the progressive consensus.

I stand by my portrait of Nader's 1996 campaign. If it really was the vivid operation Marc and Micah claim, its failure to garner even 1 percent of the vote is more telling than I thought. Nader's disengagement from the Greens then and his ineptness as a candidate are common knowledge, even in the ever-hopeful progressive press (see John Nichols, "Run, Ralph, Really Run," March 6, and Doug Ireland in *In These Times*, April 3). Marc and Micah's minor corrections don't alter that basic picture. Nader read the party platform, but he told Tish Durkin in the *New York Times Magazine* that he "stops short of endorsing it," and when interviewed by William Safire, he ridiculed the same-sex marriage plank as "gonadal politics."

Writing progressive boilerplate in *The Nation* isn't the same as actually running a progressive campaign. How many speeches did Nader give in black churches? How many people on welfare did his campaign register to vote? How often did he talk about reproductive rights, except as a passing mention in a laundry list of causes? As for his "five or six" vice presidents, further research has turned up no fewer than eight! By Election Day these had been reduced not to two, but four (Annie Goeke, Muriel Tillinghast, Winona LaDuke, Madelyn Hoffman).

I don't think I'm alone in finding this more the stuff of musical comedy than politics.

It's true that had Nader spent more than \$5,000 only his personal finances would have been made public. But regardless of FEC requirements, a vigorous and visible campaign would of course draw attention to Nader's organizations and their funding. Wisely, Marc and Micah don't mention the credible charges I reported (see, for example, the January 10 *New Republic*) that important funding for Nader's organizations comes from anti-union textile zillionaire Roger Milliken, who has his own reasons to oppose NAFTA and who, interesting enough, is also widely believed to fund Pat Buchanan. Nor do they challenge my mention of Nader's uncomfortably friendly relations with Buchanan, something no candidate serious about winning the votes of immigrants, women, minorities, gays or Jews—or the unbigoted of any race, sexuality or class—would indulge in. Ralph Nader has done some wonderful things. But he's not a saint, and he's not a politician either.

Nation readers who wrote in to doubt that progressives had fallen for the antics of John McCain need only read Marc's paean to the man he calls "Johnny Mack" in the right-wing *New York Press*. As for Arianna Huffington, obviously she sees the handwriting on the wall. Gingrichism—the weird mix of far-right economics, moralistic Christianity and nutty futurology she was pushing a few years ago—is finished. Now she wants soft-money bans and charity, especially the "faith-based" kind. It's natural for Marc and Micah to defend their new friend, but I'll believe in her political makeover when she comes out for restoring the income tax to the degree of progressivity operating in 1980, before the Republican right wing came to power.

To the many Greens and others who wrote to kvetch that I'm a whiner, a complainer, a naysayer and a doomsayer: Quite right! It's a dirty job, but someone's got to do it.

KATHA POLLITT

BOOKS & THE ARTS

The 'Casanova of Causes'

JOHN LEONARD

ARTHUR KOESTLER: The Homeless Mind.

By David Cesarani.

The Free Press. 646 pp. \$30.

To her biographer, Simone de Beauvoir confided a less than rhapsodic one-night stand, in 1946, with the Hungarian malcontent Arthur Koestler: "One night I got so drunk I let him come home with me. We slept together. It wasn't any good. It didn't mean anything. He was too drunk, so was I. It never happened again. Only that night was real, the rest is how I loathed him." Beauvoir was rather kinder in *Force of Circumstance*, the third volume of her memoirs, recalling K.'s curiosity and generosity as well as his self-importance: "Touchy, tormented, greedy for human warmth, but cut off from others by his personal obsessions." And rather more ambivalent in that plum-pudding *roman à clef*, *The Mandarins*, where her alter ego, Arnie, will notice, almost immediately after succumbing to the "Slavic charm" of the Koestler-like Scriassine, "a lot of hate" in those "fiery eyes," and the delusion that "loneliness can be cured by force."

They got around like a virus or the clap, those European intellectuals. Nor did they fail to ideologize their sadness in the sack (Kronstadt! Slansky!). So delirious, in fact, were the bistro behaviors of *The Second Sex* and *Darkness at Noon*, not to mention *The Myth of Sisyphus*, *Nausea* and *Man's Fate*, that we are tempted to linger and to wallow. Imagine Jean-Paul Words so drunk over onion soup at Les Halles that he fills up paper napkins with pepper and salt and hides them in his pockets. Or *Darkness* and *Sisyphus* getting into a fistfight, not because Camus was having it off with K.'s main squeeze, Mamaine "The Mermaid" Paget, but because Caligula accused Scum of the Earth of cheating to win their wager on who could scuttle the fastest across the Place St. Michel on all fours. Or *Being and Nothing-*

ness calling off their friendship because Invisible Writing insisted on remaining buddies with *Voices of Silence*, which oracular Silence, André Malraux, had been pressuring Gallimard to cease publication of No Exit's favorite magazine, *Les Temps modernes*. And maybe "Mermaid" Paget needs a biography of her own. While *The God That Failed* was knocking her about—before and after *The Stranger* ran away with her—Jean-Paul Saint Genet also made a clumsy pass, and so did that Dead Sea Scroll at the Finland Station, Edmund Wilson, while he was still married to The Group.

But if we are to believe David Cesarani's weird book, Beauvoir was luckier than many of K.'s bedmates. What might just as easily have happened is Koestler's inviting himself into her flat, bullying her into batching up an omelet, helping her to towel the

Ex-Zionist, ex-Communist, original Cold Warrior—Koestler is surely the ultimate waffle on the twentieth-century grid.

plates, grabbing her by her hair or throat, pulling her down to the linoleum, banging her head a couple of times and then raping her, after which explaining: "I thought you had a bit of a yen for me." This is what he did to Jill Craigie, the filmmaker wife of Labor MP Michael Foot. (Craigie died late last year, but not before the details of her interview with Cesarani made headlines in the British tabloids.) And probably what he did to a fair number of other young women in his long career of sexual conquest. It certainly bears a striking resemblance to the "seduction" of Odette by Slavek in his Lisbon novel, *Arrival and Departure*. More than a user, Koestler was an abuser—of women, alcohol, automobiles and ideas.

This abusiveness—and the evidence is overwhelming that he was an "intemperate, obsessive, egomaniacal, bullying, petty, selfish, arrogant, lecherous, duplicitous and self-deluding" "serial rapist" addicted late in life to "happy pills" (Dexedrine)—is one of two main accusations in a relentless bill

John Leonard's most recent book is *When the Kissing Had to Stop* (New Press).

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of indictment. The other is "the negativity of his Jewishness," by which Cesarani, a professor of modern Jewish history at Southampton University, means more than ambivalence but a denial verging on self-hatred: "At odds with his origins, uneasy with himself and unable to settle because with no clear identity it was not clear where he belonged, he was condemned to a nomadic life-style. Homelessness became his domicile, and his politics were the politics of location and dislocation."

Cesarani can't quite bring himself to link these impeachments—to suggest that Koestler was deprived because he was deracinated; that not only couldn't he stay put geographically or ideologically but also he drank too much, cracked up cars, punched up cops and raped women, all because he was running away from his Jewishness. This would require actually thinking about other homeless Jewish minds in an era that specialized in forcible evictions and what K. himself once called "stepfatherlands." Albert Einstein? Herbert Marcuse? Jacques Derrida and Algeria? Elias Canetti and his mother? It's worth recalling that when Freud finally got permission to leave Vienna in 1938, the Gestapo obliged him to sign a certificate saying that he had been well treated by the authorities. He added a sentence of his own: "I can heartily recommend the Gestapo to anyone."

Still, Jewish self-hatred is an odd charge to level against the ex-Zionist, ex-Communist and original Cold Warrior, perhaps our pre-eminent parajournalist of totalitarianism and surely the ultimate waffle on the twentieth-century grid—with score marks on his thick hide to prove it from Hitler, Franco and Stalin—who made no secret of his origins in four autobiographies. Who worked part time for the Jewish National Fund and joined a Jewish dueling fraternity at the University of Vienna. Who accompanied the Zionist firebrand Vladimir Jabotinsky on a speaking tour of Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1924 and then to the World Zionist Congress in 1925. Who dropped out of college and shipped off to Palestine in 1926, where for the next three years he flunked kibbutzing, sought in Tel Aviv to start a cabaret, settled in Jerusalem to string for publications in Budapest and Cairo, concocted the first Hebrew crossword puzzle and covered the Middle East for the Ullstein newspaper chain, until they promoted him to Paris. Who returned in 1944 after writing one novel, *Arrival and Departure* (1943), which even Cesarani admits is "almost the only work of fiction published in Brit-

ain during the war, or even after the war, to register the catastrophe" of the Holocaust, to research another, *Thieves in the Night* (1946), that endorsed Stern Gang terrorism. And who made one last 1948 trip to the fledgling State of Israel, where, like so many other Revisionists, he seemed to hate almost everything about Ben-Gurion's "totalitarian Lilliput," including the fact that his jeep was commandeered at gunpoint by Moshe Dayan's 89th Battalion, after which he published an account, *Promise and Fulfillment* (1949), that called quits to his love affair with the Promised Land—although he would have gone back in 1967, at Teddy Kollek's personal request, if not for the Six-Day War. According to Cesarani:

Once Koestler had decisively rejected the realisation of his Jewish identity through Zionism he deliberately cultivated a cosmopolitan, de-Judaised image in his autobiographical writing. The break with Jewishness and Zionism, which is flagged at the end of *Promise and Fulfillment*, began a process of repression that inflected all his subsequent activities.

Which repression would explain why, for instance, he was so ulterior as to fail to mention that he was Jewish in a 1961 speech to the Royal Society of Literature—about a trip to India and Japan! But not, perhaps, his motivation in taking time off from his chats with Kingsley Amis about ESP to write *The Thirteenth Tribe* (1976). This eccentric foray into Jewish history argued—from scraps of the tenth-century Arab geographer Muqaddasi and the Byzantine historian Constantine Porphyrogenitus; dialogues in *The Kuzari*, a dreamy theological tract by the Jewish poet/philosopher of Moorish Spain, Judah Halevi; conflicting reports by sundry Hebrew, Persian, Syrian and Armenian sources; and meditations on such fragments by modern scholars like Toynbee, Bury, Dunlop and the perplexed Hungarian Marxist Antal Bartha—that the Jews of Eastern Europe were actually Khazars, descended from a Caucasian tribe of Turkish stock that thrived more than a thousand years ago between the Black Sea and the Caspian, whose king, court and military caste inexplicably converted to Judaism in AD 740 and then, 200 years and a Russian invasion later, vanished into the speculative mists. Those mists, insisted Koestler, were Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Crimea and Ukraine. Thus the primary victims of the Holocaust weren't really Jewish, at least genetically. So much for a Chosen People.

Some of us took *The Thirteenth Tribe* to be on a par with Koestler's other enthu-

siasms of the raffish seventies, like levitation, psychokinesis, catastrophism, Tories and canines. But Cesarani sees a more sinister subtext—"a deep, personal reason for this bizarre exercise":

he was prepared to go to extraordinary lengths to prove that he was not a Jew, or at least a Jew of the 'seed of Abraham.' Koestler could not simply renounce Judaism: he was not a believing Jew and, in any case, saw Jewishness as more than a mere creed—it was a national identity. Indeed, it was even more than that: it was a package of acquired characteristics, a racial type. Given his geneticist convictions the only way he could emancipate himself from the 'seed of Abraham' was by tracing his lineage to the loins of the Khazar tribesmen.

Well, maybe. On the other hand, maybe not. "There is nothing more easily falsified than the unconscious," Italo Calvino has explained. Cesarani only got into the private papers at the Edinburgh Library by promising to write a book about "Koestler's Jewish identity and themes in his life and work." So he has to blow this bagpipe every other chapter or look like a magpie. But imagine his surprise at all that date-rape stuff—and the commensurate dismay of Michael Scammell, whose authorized biography, as yet unfinished, is now pre-empted. Likewise pre-empted, one supposes, are the revelations about Koestler's activities as a Comintern agent in Spain and elsewhere, as faithfully recorded in the suddenly leaky archives of the KGB. Of another famous renegade, the Rilke-reading translator of *Bambi*, Whittaker Chambers, Koestler himself would remark: "Such peculiar birds are found only in the tree of the revolution."

Except for his self-help encyclopedias on sex, which Cesarani says weren't bad for their nervous times, I have read all of Arthur Koestler's books, beginning with *The Invisible Writing* when I was 15 years old, and it was as thrilling as *Look Homeward, Angel*, *Catcher in the Rye* and Thomas Merton's *Seven-Storey Mountain*. Do I like him less, now that I know so much from Cesarani about his piggy personal behavior? Of course. But looking back, it seems to me it was never the man I admired, anyway. It was the career, and the way he wrote about that career, in the saddle as it were, like Isaac Babel in *Red Cavalry*, or as if, like Trotsky and the mill workers in St. Petersburg, we ducked under the bellies of the horses at a friendly Cosack wink. I wanted to be a cowboy, too, in this extreme western.

Koestler's great gift, in fact, was to re-

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member the excitement of ideas in action, and to refresh that memory with language, never cheating on the original exaltation no matter how many times he rewrote the events of his life as a yogi, lotus, robot, commissar, call girl or the ghost in his own machine—and Cesarani has counted them all, every revised word, in search of “stupendous act[s] of deception.” In these pages, we are reacquainted with exactly what it felt like to read Karl May and Jules Verne, listen to Lehar operettas and wait for the football scores as a child in Budapest; to discover Rilke, Heine, Hölderlin, Strindberg, Ibsen and Hamsun as a precocious adolescent, as well as Darwin and Kepler; to experience both a revolution (Bela Kun) and a counterrevolutionary terror (Admiral Horthy) at age 13; to fall in love, as a student in Vienna, with Einstein, Bohr, Heisenberg, Adler and Jung; to look for a cause in Palestine, a brothel in Paris, a job in Berlin, the future in Bokhara, Samarkand and Tashkent (with a laid-back Langston Hughes as his companion), and the North Pole from a graf zeppelin; to hobnob with Wilhelm Reich, Karl Radek, André Malraux, Alfred Döblin, Ignazio Silone, George Orwell, Thomas Mann, Dylan Thomas, Cafe Flor phenomenologists, Left Book Club social democrats, Congress for Cultural Freedom—Fighting Partisan Reviewers and even Timothy Leary, who tripped him out on acid; to fear death in a Franco prison (while reading John Stuart Mill in Spanish) and then again in a French DP camp (where Walter Benjamin slipped him some morphine); and to be unbelievably when he told everybody about the Final Solution and the Gulag.

To be sure, the novels were *romans à these*, too anal in their schematizing. But they were also true to the mythomaniacs who inhabited them. Whether, for instance, the Old Bolshevik Rubashov in *Darkness at Noon* was based on Bukharin or not, or even whether Bukharin really confessed at his own Show Trial, the case for revolution has seldom been better made, by a writer who had come to revile that revolution. Peter, in *Arrival and Departure*, leaves Portugal for almost certain death, in spite of a Jungian psychoanalysis by Sonia that not only persuades the reader of the childhood origins of his unconscious guilt but persuades Peter, too—and even the Nazi who goes on about the mineral veins of Europe as a sort of central nervous system is allowed to be more eloquent than any other Nazi I’m aware of in any other antifascist novel. Like Koestler on his first trip to Palestine, Joseph in *Thieves in the Night* may

have his doubts about a collective run on a woozy amalgam of the principles of Tolstoy and Marx, but we see him as well through the eyes of the Communards, in all his vanity, impatience and disdain for manual labor. *The Age of Longing* (1951), alas, was worse than ugly, it was smug—“To imitate the past and to abolish the past are equal sins against life,” smirked Monsieur Anatole; “therefore all reactionaries suffer from constipation and all revolutionaries from diarrhea”—but at least he got to do to Beauvoir what she had done to him. By the time he dialed up *The Call Girls* two decades later, he had lost this passionate knack and was reduced to ventriloquism, even if the dummies included W.H. Auden and Konrad Lorenz. Still, it had been a long run for a novelist of rambunctious ideas.

And over all this hectic activity, this compulsive curiosity and headlong rush to covenant, peril and repentance, these big ideas slapped on like adhesive plasters to the wounds of self and the bigger discrepancies for which no poultice ever proved medicinal, he’d spritz promiscuous metaphors and Homeric myth. It was as if, by literary fiat, in chapters of escapade with such headings as “From the Mount of Olives to Montparnasse,” “Liberal Götterdämmerung” and “The Return of Ahor,” he could aggrandize his only childhood, his “emotional measles” and traumatic tonsillectomy, his father’s selling of radioactive soap and his mother’s ever-so-convenient migraines, his “bridge-burning,” vagabondage and violent divestitures, into a “language of destiny,” an “invisible writing” and an “oceanic feeling,” a “third order” and a “parallel universe” of “wonder rabbis,” helpful shamans and wax-winged effigies of Icarus—into which Blue he shot his Arrow.

This was thrilling, too, like modern art and teen sex.

It is possible to forgive Cesarani his misspellings of Nicola Chiaromonte as “Nicolas,” of James Fenimore Cooper with an extra “n,” and of the philosopher Zeno as “Xeno” (twice: a Greek paradox?); his risible description of Henry and Clare Boothe Luce as “pillars of the American liberal establishment”; and even his tricking up of a shaky thesis with the usual pomoblab about “marginality,” “contingency,” “intertextuality” and “deterritorialized identities”—but not his tin ear for the work itself while he purses prim lips at erotic adventurism; not when he’s tone-deaf in the middle of so much symphonic noise. Koestler may have come to distrust “the great nineteenth-century narratives of progress,” but every

bassoon note of that century's Romantic afflatus resounded in his prose and head. And for all his disenchantment, he'd still maintain:

In the 1930s conversion to the Communist faith was not a fashion or a craze—it was a sincere and spontaneous expression of an optimism born of despair: an abortive revolution of the spirit, a misfired Renaissance, a false dawn of history. To be attracted to the new faith was, I still believe, an honorable error. We were wrong for the right reasons.

seem alone among my peer group to have kept on reading him through his “pilgrim's regress” into astronomy, ethnology, brain theory, parapsychology and mysticism—*The Sleepwalkers*, *The Act of Creation*, *The Ghost in the Machine*, *Drinkers of Infinity*, *The Case of the Midwife Toad* and *The Roots of Coincidence*. The Kepler material was terrific, and *Creation* at least contained a lot of jokes. But the more K. disappeared into subatomic particles and “supra-galactic spaces,” the less persuasive he became, arguing science by random analogy, citing anecdotes as proofs, picking and choosing among half-grasped experiments on a frantic bias, buying into both neo-Lamarckian fantasies of inherited memory and J.B. Rhine's spoon-bending down at paranormal Duke, infatuated with prime numbers and flatworms, going almost Zen on us with his “holons” and his “hierarchies,” prematurely sociobiologizing—instead of Communism, a “cosmic consciousness”; instead of comradeship, a “collective mind” and “disincarnate mental energy”; instead of dialectical materialism, “bisociation,” a mating of “matrices” along “integrative gradients”; instead of revolution, self-transcendence and the death wish, better living through modern chemistry and super enzymes (a pill to pacify the limbic “crocodile” in our old reptilian brains).

To his credit, Cesarani slogs through all this, when you know he'd really rather talk some more about the many abortions Koestler foisted on his “masochistic” wives and groupies, the daughter he refused to see, his “pathological need to wander,” his “pathological promiscuity” and his “feeble” attempts at suicide—before, of course, fed up with Parkinson's and lymphatic leukemia, he finally succeeded in finishing himself off, taking his much-loved old dog and his much younger last wife with him. But I'm with the Nobel Prize-winning biologist Peter Medawar—no fan of pseudoscience—who declined to discuss astrology at cocktail parties be-

cause “I prefer to let sleeping unicorns lie.”

Well, then, homelessness: Where's the mystery? He had been raised to expect a secular culture capable not only of assimilating but of embracing and promoting someone with his talents. It should have been possible, in Wittgenstein's Vienna, to listen to Mozart or Schoenberg, read von Hofmannsthal or Herzl, go to a play by Schnitzler, look at Secessionists, consult Freud and consume a Sacher torte. It should have been possible, in Weimar Berlin, to listen to Hindemith and Weill, read Kafka and Rilke, look at Grosz and Dix, go to plays by Brecht and Piscator, and lollygag with Gropius in a Bauhaus. But they kept closing the borders, burning the books, banning the music and killing the thinkers, until there were no more homes, only camps. In this re-

spect Koestler was every bit as “representative” of his generation as he wanted us to think, no matter how much Cesarani needs him to be some singular subspecies. Like most of the left in this century, he didn't believe in God, and who can blame him? He tried Israel and didn't like it: also hardly unique. He would settle in England, where he was at last as safe as Spinoza had been in Amsterdam. Isaiah Berlin once quoted Kant at him: “Out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing was ever made.” I'm sorry this “Casanova of Causes” was personally such a swine, the way I'm sorry Picasso was nasty, brutish and short. But I prefer to remember him as the Pest from Buda, the refugee stormbird, who, almost singlehandedly, got capital punishment abolished in his stepfatherland. ■

Israel's Five-Poem War

AMMIEL ALCALAY

In March 13 Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak survived a no-confidence vote in Parliament—launched because of objections to the inclusion of five works by a Palestinian poet in the high school literature curriculum. The last time Arabic poetry was discussed in the Israeli Knesset was in 1988, after

publication in Hebrew of one of the very same poems (“Those Who Pass Between Fleeting Words”), by Mahmoud Darwish, that caused much of the storm this time. (POETRY OF ARAB PAIN: ARE ISRAELI STUDENTS READY? asked the *New York Times*.)

Born in 1942 in a village near Acre that was destroyed in the 1948 war (known in Arabic as *al-Nakba*, the disaster), Darwish went into exile in 1971, following two years under house arrest. Banned from Israel for twenty-five years, he returned in 1996 to settle in Ramallah, in the occupied West Bank. Originally arrested because of the affirmative power of his poetry, Darwish soon found himself politically involved, both as a member of the PLO Executive Committee and, at times, as a vocal critic of PLO policies. But, as he has said, “I have never been a man of politics. I am a poet with a particular perspective on reality.” He has published more than two dozen collections of poetry and prose—though not nearly enough of it has been translated into English, given that it has appeared in at least twenty other languages. His work is extremely difficult to place in an American

context, coming as it does from a tradition of political exile and aesthetic relationships to politics that remain very foreign to American experience and consciousness. As Ibrahim Muhawi notes in his superb translation of Darwish's masterpiece, “Memory for Forgetfulness: August, Beirut, 1982,” “to the extent that it succeeds as a work of art—it is a supremely political document, and not the other way around.”

The text in question during the debate in 1988 was glossed in a carnival atmosphere in which Darwish's “fleeting words,” seemingly directed at Israelis (“Live wherever you like, but do not live among us... we have work to do in our land”), were never related to any of his other poetry, particularly the bitter lines directed at the Palestinian leadership after the evacuation of Beirut: “We have a country of words. Speak so that we may know the end of this travel.” Then it was Israeli liberals who were “shocked and dismayed” at Darwish's purported sentiments, while now they seem to be at the forefront of creating what we euphemistically call a “curriculum of inclusion.” But who, exactly, will be included? And on what terms?

In writing about the debate then, I discussed the absurdity of considering Darwish's poetry either a lethal weapon or a political blueprint. For policy statements,

Ammiel Alcalay writes frequently on Middle Eastern culture. His most recent book, Memoirs of Our Future: Selected Essays, 1982–1999, has just been published by City Lights.

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the Israeli Knesset could simply have referred to the Palestine National Council and not to poetry. As far as lethal weapons were concerned, the prevailing sentiment seemed to be that after bombs and guns and stones, the natives now had the audacity to attack "us" with words. That debate took place, one should remember, during the *intifada*, when daily tragedies included the killing of demonstrators, the children of the stones, who so courageously rose up against Israeli military occupation in a remarkably effective and imaginative response to a brutally repressive regime. It was, in many ways, a much more hopeful time, as a very small but growing number of Israelis realized that fighting military occupation and political repression must be a common goal, struggled for in different ways by Israeli Jews and Palestinians. Then came Oslo and the domestication of Palestinian leadership in the service of Israeli surveillance, containment and control, as well as the reliance of more Israelis upon official political processes rather than grassroots activities. From then on, the initiative of the stones, which had begun to define the agenda from a Palestinian point of view, changed irreversibly. Now all forms of Palestinian legitimacy would have to be refracted through Israeli assumptions and parameters, as in the current vehement debate over whether to include a smattering of Darwish's work in the Israeli curriculum. While all this may seem a tempest in a teapot to outsiders, there is much at stake.

One of the deepest tenets of Zionist ideology is the delegitimization of Jewish life in the diaspora and the universalization of Jewish history. Israel has always staked its claims of legitimacy on a hierarchy of victimization, particularly through the cynical manipulation of the destruction of European Jewry, even at times while shunning not only the image of those survivors but the survivors themselves. This has been well documented in a growing body of research, most notably *The Seventh Million* by Israeli journalist and scholar Tom Segev. Within these hierarchies of legitimate historical grievance, any advances toward reconciliation of the major groups in the mix (Israeli Jews of European descent, the ruling Ashkenazi minority; Jews of non-European descent, the still-disfranchised majority of Israeli Jews; diaspora Jewry; Palestinian Israeli citizens; Palestinians now under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority; and the Palestinian diaspora) have been small and incremental.

There are, for example, no memorials or monuments to Palestinian civilian victims

of 1948. Although they are now Israeli citizens and even members of the Knesset, Israeli Palestinians do not enjoy full rights or equality under the law, despite recent Israeli Supreme Court rulings. Nor should we forget that they were themselves under military rule until 1966 in Israel. While the Knesset may be debating the merits of including the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish, the Israeli curriculum is still very far from including the full range of Jewish experience, particularly in the Arab world. When, for example, might we see a unit on Abraham Serfaty, the longtime political prisoner in Morocco, banished by King Hassan; or units on Jewish involvement in the socialist and communist movements of Egypt and Iraq? The list is very long.

The point of this is not to appease each group in the manner too often promoted in the United States under the rubric of "multicultural representation." Rather, it is to create wedges in a monolithic structure, to force the issue and make the Israeli move from "victim" to responsible agent whose actions have had profound effects on the region and its inhabitants. For Israeli society to democratize itself fully, there must be official acknowledgment that Israel has played a crucial role in the destruction of Palestinian Palestine and the delegitimization of Jewish communities in Arab countries; that there have been various forms of collusion in which Zionism and certain strains of Arab nationalism found common cause; that the social stratification between Europeans and non-Europeans in Israel did not come about through good intentions or the civilizing mission but because of racist policies; that military occupation was not a necessary evil but a horrible experience that has tainted the lives of millions of people for several generations; that the siege of Beirut was not a defensive campaign but a calculated political move to maintain Israel's economic and strategic primacy in the region.

As a nuclear power armed to the teeth, Israel simply cannot continue basing its legitimacy on an eternal-victim status. Moreover, to begin truly integrating itself into the region, the country must reconsider both its political and cultural policies. These, as the debate over Darwish so clearly shows, are inextricably intertwined. Even those in favor of including the poet still see through an Israeli perspective: As Labor Party Knesset member Colette Avital asked, "Will we keep ourselves locked up within the confines of a kind of spiritual and intellectual ghetto? Is Darwish, whom we have so successfully made famous because of this debate, such a threat to our

strength?" Darwish, of course, does not need the Knesset to make him famous; he is a cultural icon throughout the Arab world and elsewhere. But finding a place for Darwish's poetry might mean giving up one little patch of victimhood and the narcissism that accompanies it.

To make Arabic a required second language for all Jewish students might begin changing a situation in which only very few Jewish Israelis have any sense at all of what is actually going on just a hundred miles

to the north, in Beirut, for instance. Beirut suffers periodic power outages when Israel, with utter impunity, carries out air raids whose goal is the collective punishment and marginalization of a vibrant, modern city at the forefront of economic and cultural developments in the region. In the larger picture, though, it is most Israelis who remain in the dark, oblivious to the lives, cultures, debates and struggles of the vast majority of people among whom they live. It is high time to let the light shine in. ■

Haider's Culture War

SILVIA TENNENBAUM

When Rudolph Giuliani, the Mayor of New York, shared a platform with Austrian politician Jörg Haider at a CORE dinner on Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday and caught an expected amount of flak from his opponents, he said he hadn't known Haider was there. This may well have been true, since Haider

is a stealth candidate, a politician who slips in and out of countries as easily as he switches roles. One day he'll run the New York marathon, another he'll appear on the hustings in his native Carinthia, only to pop up suddenly on this side of the Atlantic again, in Canada. In his latest dodge Haider resigned February 28 as leader of Austria's Freedom Party after the fourteen members of the European Union froze relations and downgraded contacts with Austria over the party's inclusion in a coalition government. But Haider stressed that his move "is not a withdrawal from politics" for him, and his replacement as party head is Susanne Reiss-Passer, a woman whose fealty to him has led her to be nicknamed "the King's cobra."

Because he is well spoken, intelligent and—as my German and Austrian friends tell me—photogenic and articulate on the tube, Haider assumes his many roles with aplomb. He leaves it to his followers to articulate the socially unacceptable planks in his platform and to sound out the dark and nasty slogans for him. He has, he says with a weary shrug, apologized enough for his exculpating references to Nazi Germany, the SS and the concentration camps. (Saying that he's sorry if he's offended anyone is not the same, of course, as admitting that he was wrong.)

Giuliani, who raised plenty of hackles with his attack on the Brooklyn Museum of

Art's "Sensation" show, is an amateur in the world of art criticism compared with Haider, who has made his assault on "degenerate" art the centerpiece of his campaign to seize power in Austria's governing coalition—despite the fact that the Freedom Party's anti-immigrant stance has drawn the most attention outside the country. Attuned to the distaste the conservative middle and lower middle classes have for the cultural avant-garde, Haider rallies the troops to his banner by sneering at what the Nazis used to call "cultural Bolshevism."

It is clear that the Freedom Party's well-orchestrated campaign against artists and intellectuals takes a leaf from Hitler's crusade against *entartete Kunst*, which began with a bonfire of books in a Munich square and ended with the wholesale removal of modern paintings from the walls of Germany's museums. Heinrich Heine's remark that a land that burns books will soon burn human beings became a reality at Auschwitz. Any step, however small, undertaken by a party that doesn't lack for racist rhetoric must be taken seriously. Thank God it has encountered determined opposition.

How determined we recently saw, as more than 100,000 demonstrators rallied against Haider in Vienna's Heldenplatz (the place where Hitler gave his first speech after annexing a jubilant Austria to his 1,000-year Reich) in late February. It is fitting that the crowd chose the Heldenplatz for its demonstration, not only because the screaming Führer appeared there to tumultuous acclaim but because it is the name of a play written by Austria's late, great writer Thomas Bernhard, a play that chillingly

recaptures the prescient, fearful moment when the crowd's roar sweeps through the apartment of a prominent Austrian Jewish family living nearby, who become suddenly aware they are doomed. Bernhard often voiced great despair over his country's poisoned past and blissfully mindless present. Haider sharpened his claws on him early in his political career—their bitter enmity was one reason the curmudgeonly writer decreed that none of his plays should ever be performed in his native land.

Austria has been far less willing to engage its Nazi history than Germany, where *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) has gone forward, however slowly, and Nazi crimes have been brought to the attention of a public long in denial. One has to wonder whether it is a coincidence that both Hitler and Eichmann were Austrian; wonder too whether this tiny country, this mountain fastness closed to the sea and the great world beyond, is still suffering the loss of empire as well as the loss of its capital's status as one of the great cultural centers of Europe.

In its heyday the Habsburg Empire was composed of a patchwork of nationalities. Though they spoke different tongues and dialects they were united by allegiance to the crown and by the structure and language of the imperial bureaucracy, which was German. Until the eruption of nationalist fervor and the First World War tore it apart, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a relatively tolerant entity, free of ethnic strife. (For an elegiac look at its diversity, one can do no better than to read Joseph Roth's novel *Radetzky March*.)

Against this backdrop it may be easier to understand the jubilation that greeted Hitler upon his arrival in Vienna. The *Anschluss* promised Austrians a return to imperial glory, this time in alliance with another German-speaking nation. Together they would create a kind of mystical *Volksgemeinschaft* (loosely, folk community). Even though there is no reason to fear that Haider is ready to fire up the crematoriums, his and his followers' cultural dictums call up the ghosts of tyrannies past.

Die Zeit—Germany's prominent left-leaning weekly newspaper—advises its readers to examine Haider's cultural politics carefully. When he calls for an art that represents the deepest yearnings of the *Volk* or indicts the Enlightenment for having emancipated art from all constraints, when he accuses liberalism of promoting moral corruption or encouraging left-wing vandals to undermine religion and the authority of the state, he speaks from his heart. When he calls these fugitive shadows of

Silvia Tennenbaum, author of the novels *Yesterday's Streets* (Random House) and *Rachel, the Rabbi's Wife* (Morrow), is at work on a memoir about her childhood in Germany before the war and her family's exile.

his imagination "pseudo-intellectual ne'er-do-wells, showoffs and lazy bums who occupy houses and live on the dole," he bares his soul.

One would think the idea that modern art and "Bolshevism" are inextricably linked had been laid to rest long ago. I was told often enough during the cold war, when I lived in Virginia, that Cubism was a Communist plot. In contrast, Giuliani's attack on Chris Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary* was but a calculated attempt to rally the conservative Catholic voter to his cause. Americans are becoming accustomed to art as a political lightning rod, from Robert Mapplethorpe's to Andres Serrano's to Karen Finley's. Yet, whatever our sins, our skies have not been filled with black smoke and the smell of burning flesh. We know full well we are a nation of immigrants, although we have sometimes declared that we are a "Christian Nation," or a "White Man's Country." We hold certain truths to be self-evident, one of them being that we are American citizens, united not by the mystical bond of blood and race but by our respect for a piece of paper, which is called the Constitution. We are united by the rights and freedoms it guarantees and are—in theory at least—equal under the law.

Jörg Haider's model for a "democratic"

society is based not on the idea of a common constitution or the free and open association of a gorgeous mosaic of citizens but on the hegemony of the German people. It is their strictly delineated culture (yodeling concerts and Strauss waltzes?) that would be the measure of all things. The right of the individual artist or intellectual to create uncensored work, and the right of the public to enjoy this work, would be subordinated to the "right" of an ethnic entity called "the people" to protect culture from dangerous liberal incursions—culture defined as that which has its origin in the soul of the community. This is Haider's clearly articulated cultural program. Enlarged to the social and political sphere, it can serve as blueprint for a new European empire, free of pernicious American influences, where people bind together in ethnically pure enclaves and states where a single language rules. There is no talk of *Lebensraum*, military conquest or genocide. Haider is suave and proud of his good looks, and his vision is Austrian, after all, not Prussian. He knows that his country escaped the devastation visited upon Germany in the last war, and he probably believes that it deserved to be spared, too.

He will not make the mistakes that Hitler made. ■

FILMS

Pigeons Home to Roost

STUART KLAWANS

ERIN BROCKOVICH • THE CARRIERS ARE WAITING

Star vehicle? *Erin Brockovich* begins with Julia Roberts already in close-up, eyes eager as salesmen in matched gabardine suits, lips vibrant and playful as double-dutch jump-ropes, skin glistening in a perfectly even light, which borrows its tint from the wall behind her, as if she were posed in a photographer's studio. Her oodles of hair—magically brown, blond and red all at once—rise majestically in the pile of a working-class heroine. Her wire earrings take the only form they could: little hearts. Speaking straight to the camera, brightly, twangily, Roberts shares a few personal details in the most disarming fashion, as a way of selling herself.

It seems you're watching a job interview, and Roberts, as the title character, isn't doing so well. Thanks to her candor, you quickly learn she's got three young children, no visible means of support and a wardrobe composed solely of handkerchief-

size dresses, as if she'd economized by purchasing only so many square inches of clothes. To her interviewer, the effect is doubly disconcerting. Not only does Erin lack qualifications for the job—she's applying to be a nurse in a medical office, on the strength of having cared for her kids—but she's shown up looking like a cocktail waitress, which makes the male, middle-aged doctor act uncomfortably thirsty.

Later, seeking a payday from an auto accident, she chooses to testify in court wearing a neck brace and a little form-fitting polka-dotted number, with a neckline that plunges to Buenos Aires. Such behavior

eventually prompts her lawyer, Ed Masry (Albert Finney), to challenge her taste in clothes. "I like how I look," she shoots back—which is the correct answer for the character and the correct answer for Julia Roberts. Many, many moviegoers like her to dress this way; and so she does, in a role that keeps her onscreen for virtually the entire length of the film.

Yes, *Erin Brockovich* is a star vehicle. More than that, it's a perfect match between star and vehicle, with Roberts playing a down-on-her-luck but fiercely determined single mom, who just happens to be a former Miss Wichita. (She still has the tiara and at one point wears it to bed.) While occupying the center of each scene, she gets to be chummy, ingenuous, exasperated, furious, sly, empathetic and at last, following the pattern of *Pretty Woman*, rich.

And yet there's even more, since *Erin Brockovich* is a based-on-a-true-story movie. In the early 1990s, the real Brockovich, though unencumbered with a law degree, managed to organize the citizens of a small town to sue a grossly negligent corporation. The plaintiffs won—and so she gave moral and material aid to hundreds of people, while doing a little something for her own family as well.

So now, at a moment when America's corporate apologists are trying to prevent injured citizens from taking to the law, Julia Roberts has marched her stardom squarely into the path of the tort-reform movement. Granting due respect to the differences, I might almost liken her to the fellow who blocked the tanks going into Tiananmen Square. With those legs, she won't be easy to knock down.

In fact—I use the phrase in its strict meaning—*Erin Brockovich* stands so firmly on Roberts's legs that it can name a corporate bad guy: Pacific Gas & Electric. Let me say that again: Pacific Gas & Electric, Pacific Gas & Electric, Pacific Gas & Electric. The movie is so indelicate as to assert, without fear of incurring legal action against Universal Pictures, that PG&E poisoned the residents of Hinkley, California, knew it had poisoned them and actively lied about the poisoning to the victims, who therefore thought their tumors were the fruit of bad luck and so went on drinking carcinogenic water. You can't make this stuff up, nor do you have to.

While Erin is on her way to the rousing conclusion, in which she and many honest citizens collect millions through the courts, she further demonstrates her feistiness through jokey bickering with her boss, played by Finney as a pudgy, gravy-spotted fellow who tends to trip over the file boxes

The Nation.

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NEW YORK

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■ Conference: April 12, 9 AM–5 PM. Join Peter Phillips, David Barsamian, Amy Goodman, Bill Dixon, Nancy Kranich, Samuel Epstein, Dee Dee Halleck and many others for an all-day conference on information, media activism and democracy. Fordham University, Lincoln Center Campus. For more information call Dr. Robin Anderson: (718) 817-4998. Awards: April 12, 7 PM. Join Laura Flanders, Benjamin Pogrud and the journalists of the top ten censored stories of the year for the award that is widely considered the "alternative Pulitzer for investigative journalism." Fordham University Law Building, W. 62nd St., between Amsterdam and Columbus. \$10 donation. Visit www.sevenstories.com.

littering his office, so that he spills the take-out coffee that's forever in his mitt. Erin also enters into an affair with her next-door neighbor, George (Aaron Eckhart), who proves to be the nurturing type, despite his bandanna headcloth, Harley-Davidson and broad expanse of chest hair.

It is only one of the film's reversals of expectation when manly George volunteers to care for the kids so that Erin may pursue a profession. A more subtle reversal: Although Erin uses her body as if she'd seen *Pretty Woman* and meant to emulate its heroine, she doesn't spend much of her time in bed. When she needs to get access to a trove of documents, she distracts their guardian by leaning forward and squeezing her elbows to her sides, making her breasts the most animated to be seen since Jessica Rabbit's; when her boss issues one of his gruff reprimands, her reflex is to taunt him sexually; but when she comes home at midnight for the 128th day in a row, she discovers that George has packed his bag, having gone untouched for too many months.

A further reversal: Even though Erin begins the picture by talking about her children, even though she's shown making sacrifices for them (including going hungry), she is capable of neglecting the kids, once she's found paying work and an outlet for a formidable mental energy. Sure, she's warm and caring; that's why the residents of Hinkley trust her. But for all that, the film, with a knowing grin, lets us identify her main sources of pleasure: intellectual stimulation and a whole lot of money.

Though it's overly fond of connecting dots, Susannah Grant's screenplay provides an efficient enough plan of action for the movie. The responsibility for realizing that plan, and for putting life on the screen, falls to Roberts, of course, and to the director, Steven Soderbergh. He's always found exhilaration in scenes where women assert themselves—think of Andie McDowell grabbing the camera in *sex, lies & videotape*, or of Jennifer Lopez kneecapping a bad guy in *Out of Sight*—and so he seems utterly assured in directing Roberts through her star turn. He's also developed a masterly repertoire of editing tricks, which speed the action through those connected dots. The image of the present scene overlaps with sound from the next, to help you bound over the transition; a scene of courtroom testimony breaks apart into multiple viewpoints, varied and rapid; several days of job hunting turn into a montage of Los Angeles locations. In his sleights of hand, Soderbergh is so deft that he even makes it look as if he'd truly risked Julia Roberts in a staged car wreck.

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What are the facts?

Land for Peace. The whole concept is absurd. Never in the history of the world has any nation returned lands to those who have attacked it. Even so, in line with the Camp David accord, Israel has yielded the vast Sinai to Egypt. It has yielded Gaza and about 40% of the "West Bank" to the Palestinians. Over 90% of the Arab population of the territories is under the control of the Palestinian Authority. What else is expected of a country that occupies only a fraction of 1% of the lands occupied by the Arabs? And shouldn't land for peace work both ways? Shouldn't the Arabs give up some land to get peace? Or why not just simply "peace for peace?"

A Palestinian State.

Israel could not survive if Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") were in unfriendly hands. And, especially in light of the experience since the "handshake," during which time more Israelis were killed by Palestinian terrorists than in any comparable previous period, there can be little question of the enduring hostility of the Arabs. The "West Bank" mountain ridges dominate the narrow waist of Israel, in which over 70% of the Jewish population, 80% of its industrial base, and the most important military installations are located. The Palestinians would not need an army to make life in Israel impossible. Moveable Katyusha rockets would dominate the area. Israel needs to keep strategic control of the "West Bank," without which it would not be defensible.

Return of the "Refugees". Population transfers have occurred throughout history. In 1923, Greece and Turkey agreed to a resettlement of 2 million Greeks and 800,000 Turks; in 1945, the resettlement of 3 million Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia was

arranged. Following the collapse of its North African empire, France accepted close to 1.5 million people. More than 12 million(!) Muslims and Hindus were exchanged between India and Pakistan. Israel has recognized this historical necessity. But the "Arab Nation", with its enormous wealth and vast under-populated lands, has stubbornly refused to face facts. Instead of allowing the Palestinians who left Israel in 1948 (and their descendants) to be integrated into their societies, they have, for the past fifty years, kept them in miserable "refugee

camps" and have encouraged them to plot vengeance and terrorism. Return of these people to Israel, including Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") is impossible. Neither Israel nor any

Palestinian entity could absorb them. There is not enough land and not enough water. It would be as unthinkable as for those 3 million Germans to return to Poland and the Czech republic or, for that matter, for the 800,000 Jews who fled or were expelled from the Arab countries to return to their original homes.

Jerusalem. Before the end of the 1967 Six-Day War, no claims to Jerusalem being a Moslem holy city or the capital of any Arab country were asserted. But for over two thousand years, Jews have been living in Jerusalem and they have been the majority population since the 19th century. Why should they give up their capital, their holy city as far back as memory goes—or even any part of it? The Moslems have their holy cities, Mecca and Medina, and they have 22 Arab capitals. There are important Arab cities in the "West Bank", under full control of the Palestinian Authority. But Jerusalem is the eternal and indivisible capital of the Jewish State.

"By not yielding to pressure and by not
allowing Israel to be strategically weakened,
Mr. Barak will bring peace with
security, *shalom batuach*, to Israel and
to the entire Middle East."

These are the most important issues that Ehud Barak and his government will have to confront in the final status talks. As to Jewish "settlements" in the "West Bank": Netanyahu has made clear that Jews have the right to live in any part of the land of Israel, all of the land west of the Jordan River. And why not? How is it possible that 160,000 Jews living among 1 million Arabs in the "West Bank" should be an obstacle to peace if over 1 million Arabs live within the "green line" of Israel? They don't have to fear for their lives and nobody considers them an obstacle to peace. By standing firm and resolute, by not yielding to pressure from any source, domestic or foreign, and by not allowing Israel to be strategically weakened, Mr. Barak will have earned the trust of Israel and the world and will bring peace with security, *shalom batuach*, to Israel and to the entire Middle East.

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She's far too valuable to endanger, of course. And I don't for a moment imagine she might suffer for her present stand in endorsing a citizen's right to sue. But let's be as hardheaded as Erin Brockovich herself, or the film that bears her name. This is how some women get things done in America: through the use of whatever they've got. If neither the star nor the character wins a halo at the end, that's just fine, because they didn't ask for one. Money will do—money, and a little justice.

If you've been hoping to see a mad compendium of disaster photos, pigeon races, baton-twirling and competitive door-opening, shot in black and white, and starring Belgium's most vituperative actor, have I got the picture for you. It's Benoît Mariage's *The Carriers Are Waiting*, now making its way around the US art-house circuit.

The splendidly explosive Benoît Poelvoorde plays Roger, paterfamilias and police-beat photographer for the inappropriately named newspaper *L'Espoir*. Confined to a damp-looking brick rowhouse in a terminally decrepit industrial town, Roger has pinned his own hopes on his children, from whom he is demanding a proof of love as the film begins. He asks them for one thing, just one thing: a new car. And they can win one for him! Just enter the *Guinness Book of World Records* contest. Surely there's some record they can break. Here—the record for opening a door! Just open a door and step through 41,828 times within twenty-four hours, and the car will belong to Roger!

Having set forth this unhinged premise, *The Carriers Are Waiting* proceeds to follow the training of Roger's teenage son, Michel (Jean-François Devigne), who is coached for the competition using certifiably American methods. These involve practicing in the rubble-strewn backyard, giving rise to an image of certifiably Belgian Surrealism: a repeated passage through a freestanding doorframe, which is connected to nothing and leads nowhere. Meanwhile, little sister Luise (Morgane Simon) is drawn toward a similarly obsessed character: next-door-neighbor Felix (Philippe Grand'Henry), a guy who looks like Jimmy Stewart's dimwitted younger brother, works in a cork-making factory and devotes his life to his pigeons.

The Carriers Are Waiting eventually turns into a kind of shaggy-papa story, in which the bully of love becomes almost lovable. But fortunately, there's more fang than hair to this movie. While on your way toward the benign ending, expect to feel the nips of a genuinely sharp humor. ■

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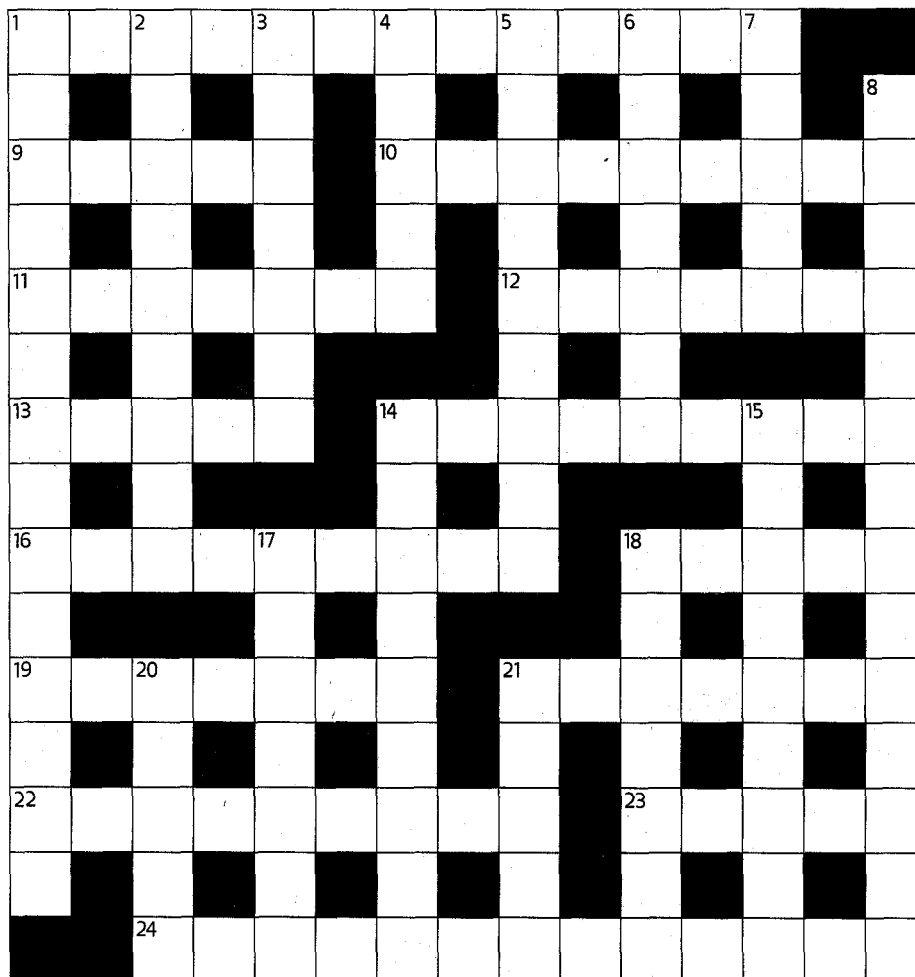
FRANK W. LEWIS

ACROSS

- 1 An old card game and a later one where one might be expected to come across. (7,6)
- 9 The Spanish-British investigating agency managed one who got back Granada. (2,3)
- 10 Before a skip and a jump sometimes one has a drink played out on the sidewalk. (9)
- 11 Being a philosopher, mathematician and author, he deserved his Nobel. (7)
- 12 The 7 and the 9 on the table, for example—but not the 8, being a little peculiar. (7)
- 13 Three little ones were the total sum in *The Mikado*. (5)
- 14 Van wed sis? Crazy! They might be right off the board! (4,5)
- 16 We might be told this before being shot. (3,6)
- 18 Confuse a thousand and nine, going other than down. (3-2)
- 19 Sending a woman to Niagara should show up someone who should be Marc's other-sex relative. (7)
- 21 Valid independent of observation, this should be a claim of a religious one. (1,6)
- 22 A zone as a crude translation of a Spanish Civil War battle cry. (2,7)
- 23 One provided in Paradise for 60 minutes after midnight. (5)
- 24 Hoping to see something in the future? (7,6)

DOWN

- 1 We should know Rustic Chivalry because of him. (6,8)
- 2 A famous mother when it comes to making new things. (9)
- 3 Send sod! This quality is even a peculiarity! (7)
- 4 Nothing comes up in most of the hill here. (5)
- 5 Concerning what certain legal matters come to, one isn't very well behaved! (9)



- 6 Made up one's mind? A Spanish hero, indeed! (7)
- 7 Not one of the main characters in "The Next Race." (5)
- 8 Mr. Vance, no longer a Freshie, ends one with a little "pep," as they say, acting like 11. (14)
- 14 One might write a script when a wrecked car is sent for one. (9)
- 15 This often speaks in a loud voice. (3,6)
- 17 Put an edge on the pigpen, which is supposed to be a superior life insurance paper. (7)
- 18 Part of the isomorph, I always say, should put you to sleep. (7)
- 20 Get to not quite choose the subject? (5)
- 21 Supposedly one with wings has a new angle! (5)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our Web site at www.thenation.com/print/hints.

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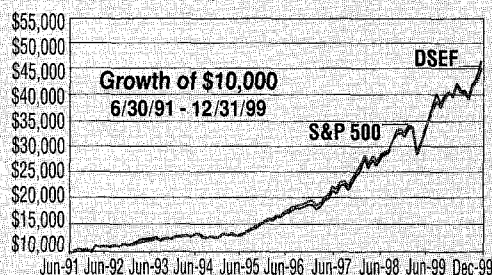
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